DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 187 130 FL 011 365

AUTHOR	Matreyek, Deborah B., Ed.
TITLE	Cross Currents: Communication/Language/Cross-Cultural Skills. Volume 5, Number 1.
INSTITUTION	Language Inst. of Japan, Odawara.
PUB DATE	78
NOTE	114p.
AVAILABLE FROM	The Language Institute of Japan, 4-14-1 Shiroyama, Odawara 250, Japan
JOURNAL CIT	Cross Currents; v5 n1 1978
EDRS PRICE	MF01 Plus Postage. PC Not Available from EDRS.
DESCRIPTORS	Administrator Education; Bilingualism; Communicative Competence (Languages); *Contrastive Linguistics; *Cultural Traits; Drama; Educational Media; *English (Second Language); Indonesian; Industrial Personnel; Japanese; Malay; Official Languages; Personality Traits; *Second Language Instruction; Second Language Learning; *Speech Communication; *Student Developed Materials; Tagalog; Teaching Methods
IDENTIFIERS	*Japan; Malaysia; Philippines; Singapore

ABSTRACT

This issue of "Cross Currents" includes the following articles: "More About Drama for the Classroom" by Richard A. Via; "Student-Created Media: One Approach to ESL Instruction" by Kathy Campbell; "Some Advice for Japanese Students Learning English" by Yoshi-Mitsu Shimazu; "Patterns of Oral Communication Among the Japanese" by Donald W. Klopf, Satoshi Ishii, and Ronald Cambra; "Cultural Silence in the Interpersonal Dynamics of Community Language Learning" by Paul G. La Forge; "Teaching English to Japanese Businessmen" by Janet Thomas; "EFL in Japanese Industry: Activities, Problems and Solutions" by Kohei Takubo; and "English and the National Languages in Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines: A Sociolinguistic Comparison" by Teodoro A. Liamzon. Japanese summaries of the articles are included. (SW)

****
* Reproductions supplied by EDRS are the best that can be made *
* from the original document. *
****

ED187130

CROSS CURRENTS

Communication/Language
/Cross-cultural Skills
Vol. V, No. 1, 1978

U.S. DEPARTMENT OF HEALTH,
EDUCATION & WELFARE
NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF
EDUCATION

THIS DOCUMENT HAS BEEN REPRODUCED EXACTLY AS RECEIVED FROM THE PERSON OR ORGANIZATION ORIGINATING IT. POINTS OF VIEW OR OPINIONS STATED DO NOT NECESSARILY REPRESENT OFFICIAL NATIONAL INSTITUTE OF EDUCATION POSITION OR POLICY

"PERMISSION TO REPRODUCE THIS MATERIAL IN MICROFICHE ONLY HAS BEEN GRANTED BY

Howard Gutowitz

TO THE EDUCATIONAL RESOURCES INFORMATION CENTER (ERIC)."

FL 011 363

ABOUT *CROSS CURRENTS*

Cross Currents is published by the Language Institute of Japan with the intention of contributing to an interdisciplinary exchange of ideas within the areas of communication, language skills acquisition, and cross-cultural training and learning. Although a large proportion of the articles deal with these areas as they relate to Japan and Japanese students, we are also concerned with teaching methodologies, techniques, and general issues which are multicultural rather than culture specific.

Articles submitted for consideration should be typed, double-spaced, with references cited in parentheses in the text by the author's last name, date and page numbers. Footnotes on substantive matters should be typed at the bottom of the page where the footnote appears. Please include a bibliography, a short precis of the article and a short biographical sketch.

Please direct all correspondence to:

General Editor, *Cross Currents*
Language Institute of Japan
4-14-1 Shiroyama
Odawara, 250, Japan

EDITORIAL BOARD

Deborah B. Matreyek, general editor
Joyce Yukawa
Howard Gutow
Betsy Bedell
Masami Takahashi, business manager

TABLE OF CONTENTS

Vol. V, No. 1, 1978

Summaries of the Articles (in Japanese) IV

From the Editor IX

1. More about Drama for the Classroom
Richard A. Via 1

2. Student-Created Media: One Approach to ESL Instruction *Kathy Campbell* 9

3. Some Advice for Japanese Students Learning English
Yoshi-Mitsu Shimazu 27

4. Patterns of Oral Communication among the Japanese
Donald W. Klopf, Satoshi Ishii, Ronald Cambra 37

5. Cultural Silence in the Interpersonal Dynamics of Community Language Learning
Paul G. La Forge 51

6. Teaching English to Japanese Businessmen
Janet Thomas 67

7. EFL in Japanese Industry: Activities, Problems and Solutions *Kohei Takubo* 75

8. English and the National Languages in Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines: A Sociolinguistic Comparison *Teodoro A. Llamzon* 87

Summaries of the Articles

More about Drama for the Classroom

Richard A. Via

授業への演劇（Drama）の導入について

ハワイ大学のリチャード・バイア氏はこの論文で、ＥＳＬの授業に演劇を取り入れることの効果について理論的な解明を行っています。

氏は、学習者に口頭コミュニケートの指導をする際この演劇という方法が大変役に立つと述べ、コミュニケーションというものが本来個人個人の意志の表現であるということを考えると、演劇のテクニックは学習者に対して第二言語をそうした意味で使わしめるよい手段になると述べています。

そして、ＥＳＬの授業にあってはこれが最終目標であり、記憶した文章をただ単に学習者に述べさせるよりはるかに重要であると結んでいます。

Student-Created Media: One Approach to ESL Instruction

Kathy Campbell

学習者自身にメディアを製作させるＥＳＬ授業考察

著者が、ＬＩＯＪにおいて、ビジネスマンや大学生の中級及び上級クラスの指導を通じて考察したメディアカリキュラムの解説を行います。

特に、ここでは学習者が自分達で作ったフォットエッセイとかスライドテープ、ＶＴＲ装置で録画したスピーチや寸劇などの製作過程がリストであげられています。

Some Advice for Japanese Students Learning English

Yoshi-Mitsu Shimazu

日本人の英語学習者に対するいくつかの提言

著者は、日本人が自分自身の経験を表現しながら英語を学ぶ際に、よくぶつかるいくつかの困難についてふれ、日本人がより上手に学習をするためにその性格・態度に関して、いくつかアドバイスを提言しています。

彼は、日本人がコミュニケーションの際にとる性格として遠慮がち、形式的、慎重、逃避、沈黙といったものを取り上げ、これらが英語学習をさまたげているのではないかと仮定しています。

もしこうした憶測がいくらかでも妥当性をもつならば、日本人が英語を上手に学習するための隠された鍵は何であろうかと展開しています。

Patterns of Oral Communication among the Japanese

Donald W. Klopf, Satoshi Ishii, Ronald Cambra

日本人のオーラルコミュニケーションパターン

この論文は日本人のオーラルコミュニケーションパターンについて行なわれた一つの調査結果にもとづく報告です。

調査は次にあげる質問によって行われました。

1. 日本人はオーラルコミュニケーションをしないのか,
2. 日本人は人に話しかける時、気をつかうか,
3. 日本人は言葉に重きを置く傾向があるか,
4. 日本人はお互いにどう作用し合っているのか,
5. 日本人がグループで一つの事業をする時、他のメンバーとどのように影響し合うのか,

この5つの質問の答えの中から、日本人とアメリカ人におけるオーラルコミュニケーションのパターンの違いがここに明らかにされています。

Cultural Silence in the Interpersonal Dynamics of Community Language Learning

Paul G. LaForge

Community Language Learning の人間力学（相互作用）における目に見えない文化について

この論文の主眼は、目に見えない文化（人間の相互作用）を適切に扱うことが、いかに英会話能力の向上に役立つかを示そうとする点にあります。

第1章では沈黙コミュニケーションや口頭コミュニケーションに対してとる日本人特有の5つの態度について述べ、その一つ一つに関連して外国語教師の課題とすべき点について論じています。

第2章では、CLLにおける人間力学（相互作用）について説明を加えます。

第3章では、"目に見えない文化"をどのように活用したらいいかという点に言及し、たとえば第1章で討議した5つの課題がCLLの各段階においていかになしとげられるかを示しています。

そして結論として、英語教師は、クラスにおける人間力学（相互作用）についてもっと敏感に注意を払うべきだと述べています。

Teaching English to Japanese Businessmen

Janet Thomas

日本人ビジネスマンに英語を教える

これは、今年2月"日本人ビジネスマンに英語を教える"と題してKALT（Kanto Association of Language Teachers）が主催した研究発表会で討論された内容を要約したものです。

この研究発表会の目的は会議の出席者がそれぞれ現在行っている語学プログラムやカリキュラムの効果の程を比較検討し合って今後の改善の一助にしてもらうというものでした。

会議初日の呼びものは、日本企業の人事教育担当責任者や、以前英語の集中教育プログラムに参加したことのあるビジネスマンそして、日本ビジネス界の中で英語学習に関する難問題にぶつかりそれを処理しなければならなかった経験をもつ諸外国のビジネスマン各氏が参加して行ったパネルディスカッションでした。

著者はそこで討論された中から特に日本人ビジネスマンの英語教師として関係ある大事な点を抽出しています。

EFL in Japanese Industry: Activities, Problems and Solutions

Kohei Takubo

日本の企業におけるＥＦＬ、その現状と対策

日本電気株式会社（ＮＥＣ）語学研修所長　田久保浩平氏はこの論文で、近年ＮＥＣでは輸出の増加に伴い国際分野に目立ってかかわり合いを持つようになった、しかし、日本語が他の言語と比べて根本的に異る言語構造をもっているため、経営陣は社員の英会話能力の向上に力を入れることになる── がこの会話能力は、日本の学校教育においては一般的に重視されていないと指摘しています。

さらにＮＥＣのこうした経験は、外国語のトレーニングというものが、国際ビジネスにとって重要な中心部分をしめるということを示していると述べています。

English and the National Languages in Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines: A Sociolinguistic Comparison

Teodoro A. Llamzon

マレーシア、シンガポール、フィリピンにおける英語と国語の状況：ある社会言語学的比較

この論文では、マレーシア、シンガポール、フィリピンにおける英語と国語の状況が社会言語学的見地から比較検討されています。

これらの言語に対してとられた過去、現在の各国の施策につき、普及度、統一度、近代化の３つに関して見直し評価を行っています。

これらの国に見られる顕著な特色として、マレーシアが教育手段としてとっている英語から Bahasa マレーシア語への翻訳、フィリピンの最近の後退にもかかわらず急速に普及しつつある国語化現象、シンガポールで見られる上層地位を獲得するための条件としての英語志向の高まりなどがあけられている他、３国の将来の言語学的展望について洞察が加えられています。

FROM THE EDITOR

The words communication, language, cross-cultural skills appear on the cover of *Cross Currents*. These words or concepts are a statement about the concerns of this journal. These concerns are also those of the readers and authors of *Cross Currents* who are primarily teachers and more often than not, language teachers. As language teachers, regardless of whether we teach in Japan, the U.S. or any other country, we have become aware that we must deal with these issues or concerns. This represents, to me, a broadening of the conception of language teaching. Because the scope of the field has been enlarged, there is a need for sources of new ideas and information from a variety of disciplines.

In my mind, the goal of *Cross Currents* is to provide teachers with a resource for obtaining new ideas, information, practical activities and suggestions applicable to their daily work. As a resource, it will have a multidisciplinary perspective. In this way, the journal reflects the profession as it is evolving, on both national and international levels. Our readership is growing and includes not only Japanese and foreign residents in Japan, but also people from other countries in the Pacific and the U.S. A look at the authors of the articles in this issue will give some indication of our growth. In spite of the growing diversity of authors and readers, our common bond is teaching and this is the reason *Cross Currents* is published.

This issue of *Cross Currents* is an example of what I have been attempting to express. It provides ideas and suggestions in the following areas of concern: 1) classroom activities and methodologies (written by Via and by Campbell); 2) cross-cultural issues in teaching English to Japanese (articles by La Forge and by Shimazu); and 3) business English or teaching English to Japanese businessmen (articles by Thomas and by Takubo). In addition, there is a report on research that was conducted by Klopf, Ishii and Cambra concerning patterns of oral communication among Japanese. Finally, Llamzon discusses the status of English and national languages in Singapore, Malaysia and the Philippines which can be of use to those planning to work there or to those whose students are plan-

ning to go there.

Cross Currents is a constantly growing endeavor. It is published by teachers for teachers. Many have found it worthwhile but support from you is crucial for the future. The editorial board and I will put forth our best efforts and we hope to do so with your continuing interest as readers and authors.

Deborah Matreyek
Cross Currents

More About Drama for the Classroom

*Richard A. Via**

In the flyer announcing the forthcoming issue of *Cross Currents* (Vol. IV, No. 2, 1977), Alison Devine's article on the "English Teaching Theatre" described it as "one of the new techniques in the EFL field." My first reaction was "Oh, come on, Alison, drama has been around in language teaching for years." When I was eleven years old I used to see plays in French put on by students of the College French class. I'm now fifty-five so you can figure out for yourself how long ago that was! In researching the history of plays performed in English in Japan for language learning purposes, I discovered that Waseda University has been presenting plays in English for about fifty years. L.G. Kelly in his book 25 Centuries of Language Teaching (122) says, "Plays have been employed to teach skills in language only since the Middle Ages." Thus, it is evident that drama is not new to those in the business of teaching language.

*Richard Via spent the first twenty-three years of his professional life on Broadway as an actor and stage manager. As stage manager of Hello, Dolly he visited Japan and his life took a sudden change of direction. In less than a year he was back in Japan as a Fulbright lecturer in theatre only to discover that theatre was not taught in Japanese universities. "Create a program," he was told, and out of the program he created came his research in the use of drama and drama techniques for language teaching. He is currently a visiting Research Associate at the East-West Center in Honolulu, Hawaii.

Acknowledgement: I am grateful to Ted Plaister for his criticism of an earlier version of this article.

But when I reread the description, the word "theatre" jumped out. Devine had not said "drama" and this makes a difference, especially if we use Brian Way's definition as he states it in his Development Through Drama (1967:2-3):

> ... theatre is largely concerned with communication between actors and an audience; 'drama' is largely concerned with experience by the participants irrespective of any function of communication to an audience.

In her article, Devine (1977:77) makes this important comment for us.

> Teachers of a conventional language class may wish the resources of an ETT troupe were at hand and may feel hard pressed to transfer theatre techniques to their own curriculum. Yet clearly, there are aspects of theatre, mime, games, role play, and songs which are applicable to almost any learning situation. A change of pace, especially in a review of something already repeated far too often but not yet learned, has a great value of its own. Furthermore, providing any kind of dramatic context for a conventional drill can give students a nonthreatening opportunity to experiment with learnt language and evaluate their skills.

My personal belief is that we should have both drama and the theatre in every ESL classroom. If, however, we have to choose between the two, then drama would take priority.

As English teachers it is crucial that we be concerned with our students "experiencing" English because we learn through experience and experiencing (Spolin, 1963). In this way, the English language becomes part of us, because we have lived it.

Though many English teachers steadfastly believe, for a variety of reasons, that they do not (would not/could not) use drama in their classrooms, the chances are good that they are using drama and drama techniques without realizing it.

To be successful in the use of drama it is important for us to use appropriate drama techniques. There are a number of ways of approaching drama; however, not all of them will give the desired results. Some have dubbed the technique that I use as the "Via Method" of language learning. While I am flattered by this distinction, the techniques I use are based largely on my interpretation of the works of Stanislavski, Way, Spolin, Rockwood, and several

directors I have worked with. Most professional actors would develop their techniques in much the same way as I have developed the ones I use in my classes.

How often have English teachers asked their students to memorize a dialogue, and then to recite it at the next class meeting? This is a fairly common teaching practice and may be considered to be a form of drama. However, this particular form of drama is rarely rewarding to the student and most surely will be less satisfying to the rest of the class in their role of observers. Let's analyze this situation and observe what is happening. Returning to the concept of experiencing, we can ask, "What are the students experiencing?" They are experiencing memorizing a number of lines; they are experiencing reciting a number of lines in front of a class and hoping they won't make mistakes; they are more than likely experiencing fear; they are experiencing success that they lived through the ordeal. If we were training actors, many of these experiences might be valuable for future theatre work, but this is not the business we are about. On the contrary, we are training people to use another language so the kinds of experiences must be controlled so that they are useful experiences.

Let's return to Way's definition of drama and add "communication" to it so that it will reflect what language is all about. We might change it to read:

> ... drama is largely concerned with experience and *communication between* the participants, irrespective of any function of communication to an audience. ... (Italics mine.)

Now when we look at our model of the students memorizing and reciting the lines of a dialogue, it becomes clear that they are not fulfilling the definition. Two persons reciting a dialogue are engaged in recitation; they are not communicating. Actually, we could argue that there are two monologues taking place, with each reciter saying every other line out loud and the other lines silently. Their cue to speak is when their partner stops. If a line is skipped the dialogue continues uninterrupted (unless the teacher stops them), because each knows the entire dialogue and will continue until all lines have been recited. One partner may or may not realize that the

dialogue has gone awry until they find themselves with an "extra" line at the end of the dialogue.

In the model above we will also note the lack of body talk, eye contact, or the animation which accompanies real communication. Students in the "memorize and recite" trap turn to the movie in their minds to see the printed dialogue perhaps "projected" on the ceiling or floor, or possibly close their eyes to avoid the distraction of the classroom. Would we tolerate such behavior by even our closest friends in real conversation situations? Why then do we not only continue to allow students to establish unacceptable habits of language use but actually foster them?

Changing this type of drama activity and substituting other more appropriate drama activities should help to correct the problems previously mentioned.

In order to be successful, we should delete from our classroom all references to "memorization," "recitation," or "acting". In their place we need to stress "communication," "being," and "using the language." Further, we need to instill confidence in our pupils by giving them the true security they require to learn English.

In order to accomplish this we turn to one of the basic tenets of drama technique, that is, the development (and acceptance!) of the individuality of each person. On the surface, this seems to be a rather simple task, one that is easy to accomplish, but in actuality it will prove to be one of the most difficult for us as teachers to implement. Years of training and practice have led us to hunt for errors, to constantly correct, to model the language in all of its aspects, to try to develop "native" like speakers, to complete the textbook, and the list goes on.

What an impossible task we are given. Is it any wonder that many of us fall into routines that bore us (and the students), and eventually may cause some to give up the teaching profession? Through constant correcting, the pointing out of right and wrong, we have instilled fear in our students, fear of making mistakes. Fear brings on tension and tension stops the learning process. In order to learn effectively we must have whole person learning. This calls for a reduction of tenseness in the classroom in order that the body can relax, because when the body is relaxed and void of tension then

the mind can absorb more readily and learning is more likely to take place. Tenseness, nervousness and fear waste a great deal of energy that could be constructively used in the learning process.

As language teachers how can we possibly not model the language for our students by our very speaking of it? Obviously we provide a model of the language, but in a different way than is usually expected. We model the language by our daily conversation and discussion with the students. We may model how we personally would say something, but that would probably not be an appropriate way for the student to say exactly the same line. Our goal, you will recall, is making the language become part of each student, and by so doing we are working on the individuality of each student. We readily accept the truism that "No two people are alike in physical appearance," but it is also true that no two people are alike in emotion or imagination.

We ask students to bring dialogues to life by admonishing them to, "Put some emotion into what you are doing." Aside from the fact that we cannot act an emotion (we must create an emotion), are we also asking the student to put on an outer layer of pretense, rather than letting a true feeling emerge from within? Do we have fixed ideas of how something is or should be said with anger, joy, love, or hate? What native English speaker dares to be the model for other native English speakers of these basic emotions? My joy and anger are mine and belong to me and no one else; they are triggered by different events and may vary greatly according to the situation or my physical being at the time. They express who I am at that moment. A student who copies the way I denote my emotion is experiencing nothing but copying. He is expressing nothing but an impersonation, his words will not have meaning behind them because they are surface, a coating, they have not come from within and have not been internalized so that they express the feelings of the student.

We must also recognize that there are tremendous cultural differences between speakers of different languages, and that we are bound to, are part and parcel of, our native culture and its rules of emotional behavior. Though we all have the same basic emotions, specific cultural rules dictate much of our behavior, and it takes

years of living in a new culture for these to change. And even then there may be little or no change. This does not mean that we cannot learn the cultural rules or that we should not teach these rules as part of language learning, but that our students will not (cannot) give up their own cultural identities. Again Devine (1977:78) in her conclusion gives us excellent advice.

> A humanistic approach to learning demands a respect for the learner's own perspective of reality. Only a situation which touches on that reality is valid and not until the learner's world is entered can it be expanded. The realm of the absurd is free because it belongs to all of us. We choose to believe it and force meaning onto it through our own will. Language used in this way belongs inextricably to the user—it is never false, contrived or secondhand. Thus, the student begins to use his new language as a key—a sorting-out device for the tangle of non sense that surrounds us. This real language works and lives.

Probably no student in any of our English classrooms would ever admit that it was unimportant to talk like a native speaker of English. Do any of us still delude ourselves into thinking that we are producing students of native-speaking quality? Drama certainly will not produce them, but with our emphasis on individuality and its acceptance, then students will learn that "speaking like a native speaker" is a very unimportant and probably unattainable goal. In most cases second language learners will carry their native accents into English for the rest of their lives. But of what significance is this in the realm of communication? Native speakers of English have many different accents. How dull English or any language for that matter would be if we all spoke exactly alike! (What would Jonathan Winters, Stanley Baxter, Rich Little, and others do for a living?) Look at the Presidents of the United States and their wide range of accents and pronunciation that make us listen, as well as laugh, but all of them communicate (at least sometimes!).

Recently we have heard or read a great deal about the so-called "Drama Method" of language learning. To my mind, using drama is not a method, in itself, but is something that should be a part of every language classroom. I do not believe in any one method of language learning. There are many methods and techniques that work, yet all have their weaknesses along with their strengths. Some students respond to some methods better than others, and at differ-

ent times during a course of learning some methods may work better than others. There are those who disagree with me, but I feel drama is perhaps best suited for those at the intermediate level of language learning. Why? Well, we must look at the needs of the student. Drama is primarily aimed at providing oral communication. If this is not the goal then drama may not be the wisest choice. Let me be quick to add, however, that the creative experience of drama has been responsible for marked improvement in the writing skills of many students.

It is only the teacher who can decide how much drama he/she and the students can handle. It is my belief that even if it is but one class a week, or only five minutes a day, that the use of drama will be a rewarding experience in English teaching/learning.

References

1. Devine, Alison, "E.T.T.: Working with the Absurd." *Cross Currents*, Volume IV, No. 2, 1977: 73-78.
2. Rockwood, Jerome, *The Craftsmen of Dionysus*. Glenview, Illinois: Scott Foresman, 1966.
3. Spolin, Viola, *Improvisations for the Theatre*. Evanston, Illinois: Northwestern University Press, 1970.
4. Via, Richard A., *English in Three Acts*. Honolulu, Hawaii: University Press of Hawaii, 1976.
5. Way, Brian, *Development Through Drama*. New York, New York: Humanities Press, 1967.

Student-Created Media: One Approach To ESL Instruction

*Kathy Campbell**

INTRODUCTION

Media productions include such things as photo-essays, slide-tapes, videotaped speeches and skits, and news programs with original narrations. I have found student-created media productions, such as these, to be one technique for strengthening and reinforcing communicative and verbal skills among non-native speaking businessmen and university students; particularly effective when used with intermediate and advanced-level classes.

Based on the enthusiasm generated by an elective course I offered to ESL students in "Television Production", I decided to design a four-week curriculum with media productions as the central, unifying theme. It was possible for me to do this since I teach at the Language Institute of Japan, which is a school that features monthly, intensive residential programs for the study of English as a second language.

Each of the media productions was introduced and supplemented by a variety of other language-related activities including grammatical structures, intonation practice, and listening comprehension

*Kathy Campbell graduated from Boston University with a M.A. in Educational Media and Technology. She is currently teaching at the Language Institute of Japan, where she has been for over a year.

work. It is entirely possible, however, to design and adapt a modified version of this curriculum (please refer to Appendix A).

RATIONALE

Some traditional approaches to ESL instruction look upon English as a body of knowledge to be "acquired" or a skill to be "practiced", rather like stock-piling gold or learning to play the piano. Such approaches rely heavily on the imitation and repetition of the words of a teacher, a tape, or a text. More emphasis is often placed on the "correctness" of the spoken words and sentence than on their meaning or content. The teacher, tape, or text becomes the all-important model, and the student's role is to approximate the model as close as possible. This technique of performing "exercises" in English often fails to meet the student's needs upon leaving the classroom: to use English as a vehicle of communication and self-expression.

The opposite extreme is an ESL class that is centered around "communication" for its own sake, with little concern for organization, theme, or content. The role of the "student as communicator" becomes all-important, and the teacher often fades into the background for fear of interfering with the "process" that is taking place. Many times the class determines the nature of the curriculum as well as the criteria for its success, while the teacher's role is to be a "facilitator of communication". This usually means that the teacher's participation is minimal, if nonexistent, except in the role of providing encouragement and positive reinforcement for the student's attempts at communication. Classes of this type are often predominated by "discussions"; the theme and depth of treatment being of secondary importance. The teacher may sometimes point out grammatical mistakes, but always in a veiled, tactful manner so as not to destroy the students' confidence in speaking. While this approach encourages students to express themselves in English and may increase their self-esteem, it usually de-emphasizes the correction of errors or the introduction of new grammatical structures. If used as the sole method of ESL instruction, it may prove in-

adequate as a means of increasing verbal proficiency.

It is my contention that a curriculum centered around student-created media productions with feedback from the teacher[s] and other students and supplemented by other language activities, provides a realistic balance between the two previously mentioned approaches to ESL instruction. In a media-oriented curriculum, the students are "communicating" in the deepest sense of the word since they are engaged in creating original productions that will be repeatedly shown to large audiences. The fact that a tangible product must be jointly produced within a set time limit gives meaning, direction, and a sense of urgency to the verbal exchange that transpires in the group. Once the class members become involved in the excitement of the creation process, English becomes viewed as a means to an end; something to be "used" rather than "practiced" or "acquired". Students usually begin to overcome their shyness about making errors, without forgetting the necessity to speak intelligibly and distinctly. They are forced to "think on their feet" in English, just as a native speaker would have to do if he were involved in the same type of project.

Because the students are given the opportunity to express original ideas rather than imitate a teacher's model, there is no sense of this being merely another "exercise" in studying English. In the "exercise" approach, the class structure and language-learning sequence is artificially imposed by the teacher, tape, or text, while in the media-oriented approach, the structure arises naturally from the students' attempts to successfully complete the media productions.

In each of the media productions, whether it is a photo-essay, slide-tape, or video-tape, the students choose, plan, organize and express the theme and content of the ideas and messages to be communicated, in English. The teacher's initial role is to introduce possible production formats, usually by showing one or more productions created by former classes, and to demonstrate the use of the equipment when necessary. Hopefully this should not discourage or deter anyone, as it is entirely possible to create sophisticated productions with only a limited amount of available equipment.

The next stage is for the teacher to explain the steps involved in

the planning and organization of the production, including a delineation of each of the roles that may be involved (camera-operator, audio-controller, etc.). A "brain-storming session" usually follows, in which the students set forth as many possible themes and topics as can be conceived and deemed interesting. At a future class meeting (or meetings) time is set aside for working together as a group to decide upon production team roles, and to refine and organize the ideas in the form of a written script or sketch, sometimes referred to as a "storyboard" or "scenario". At this point in the production, the teacher's role subsequently changes to that of a quasi-consultant, giving technical advice or grammatical help if and when things appear to have come to a standstill.

In my estimation, this stage of group-planning is the most important from the language learning point of view, since it forces the students to think and speak directly in English in a manner that must necessarily be clear and concise in order to be readily understandable by the other group members, as well as by the audience. In matter of fact, the class is doing much more than creating a mediated production. It is involved in the simulation of a real-life situation: working and interacting together as a group, centered around the accomplishment of a commonly shared task. Everyone's ideas and opinions must be carefully expressed, weighed, and considered. This give-and-take involves every aspect of real communication: speaking, listening, interpreting, judging, organizing, and making decisions. This is a far cry from "Free Conversation". Another subsidiary effect is the development of a sense of group purpose and group identity, which helps the ESL class to function smoothly in other areas of language learning as well.

CLASSROOM USE

The curriculum that I have designed covered a one-month period of time, but can also be adapted to other time-slots. At the beginning of each term of study, the students were given a class calendar detailing the major media projects and other related activities as well as an indication of the length of time available for their completion (similar to Appendix A). I tried to explain the objec-

tives and rationale of the curriculum (as previously discussed) at the onset of the term, to insure the full support of the students. The students need to understand the goals of the program as well as the roles that they (and the teacher) will play. I found it important to emphasize that the success or failure of the media productions relied to a large extent on the degree of interest, commitment, and responsibility demonstrated by the students. If these elements were found to be lacking, it would be necessary to abandon media productions and use another approach more suitable to the needs and interests of the class. As it turned out, however, each of my intermediate and advanced-level classes (comprised of students ranging in age from 21-41) responded enthusiastically and creatively to the production of photo-essays, slide-tapes, and VTR skits and speeches.

I will now attempt to give a more in-depth description of the four projects, beginning with photo-essays.

PHOTO-ESSAYS

A photo-essay consists of a series of photographs (usually monochrome) accompanied by a written description or narration in documentary or poetical style. The photographs and written accompaniment are organized in such a way to express an original point of view about a given theme or topic. If it is done carefully, the words and the photographs should compliment each other and work together to express a unified message.

In my ESL classes at LIOJ, I encouraged the students to use photo-essays as a means of making personal statements about their impressions of contemporary Japanese lifestyle. The students were told to imagine that the pictures and written essays were to be published in a book which would be read by foreigners who had very little knowledge of modern Japan. They were advised to keep in mind a definite point of view when taking the pictures, and to think about the best photographic and literary method for creating a powerful message.

The steps involved in this project included the following:

1. One or two class periods (about 45 minutes in length) were set aside for an introduction to photo-essays used as a cross-cultural medium of expression. The students were shown a series of photographs from The Family of Man, "Life Magazine", and other books and magazines, that depicted a strong mood or feeling. The class analyzed the photographs to discover the factors that contributed to the powerful imagery, such as the use of size, shape, perspective, repetition or association of images, etc. The discussion was then directed to analyzing the message or point of view that the pictures depicted about the given culture; with the emphasis on photo-journalism from Japan and America. This led into a broader discussion about Japanese and American cultural "characteristics" as well as stereotypes that are sometimes held.

2. Time was spent planning the types of shots that could be taken at the school or in the surrounding city that, in each student's estimation, focused on a "typical" aspect of modern Japanese life. This planning stage was either achieved as a class discussion, or done individually by the students outside of class, depending on the constraints of time.

3. The class divided into small groups (usually about 3 or 4 students) and each group was equipped with a 35 mm camera, provided by the teacher and/or students, and a roll of black and white film. If necessary, the teacher or one of the students demonstrated the correct operation and use of the camera. The groups then went to their chosen destination, along with the teacher.

4. After the prints were developed the students composed written narratives or commentaries to accompany each photograph. These were proof-read by the teacher, who indicated the location of any grammatical errors, usually without stating the correct word usage. The students then worked either individually or in a group to correct the errors and re-write the papers. After this process was completed (the time varied according to class level and ability), the students mounted

their pictures on heavy paper and attached the written essays. These were usually copied on a Xerox machine and distributed to all the members of the class.

5. Each student gave a verbal presentation of his photo-essay before the class, along with an explanation of the reason why he chose to take those particular photographs to express his unique point of view. At the end of each presentation (or at the end of all of the presentations) a more in-depth discussion usually arose about cross-cultural values and characteristics. This was often centered on Japanese and Western cultural values.

The photo-essays were displayed on a bulletin board in the classroom or another part of the school, for the purpose of generating student commentary and discussion. They also served as a ready example of the photo-essay concept for future classes who might be unfamiliar with the idea. The themes chosen for the photo-essays were diverse, ranging from originally created stories to a depiction of the lifestyles of school-children, salarymen, gamblers, and the elderly in Japan. The students often made use of associated images to express their ideas, such as the linking of a Shinkansen train in motion with the frenetic movement of Japanese businessmen, or the pairing of a man's expressionless face with an ancient "Noh" mask.

By and large the students seemed to feel that the photo-essays were a successful class project in terms of improving their written and spoken English. A couple of people felt that too much class time was allotted for the completion of the task (about 5 hours in total), although most people said they thought the time was well-spent.

SLIDE-TAPES

Slide-tapes were subsequently introduced to the class as an extension and expansion of the photo-essay concept. A slide-tape is made up of a series of slides (taken with a 35 mm camera, using slide film) that work together to tell a story or express an original

theme. The slides are accompanied by an audio-cassette tape that include narration, music, and/or sound effects created by the students. By means of a slide-tape machine, it is possible to electronically synchronize the advancement of the slides with specific segments of the cassette tape. It is also possible to produce slide-tapes by using only a 35 mm camera and a tape recorder. In this case, an audio signal, such as the sound of a bell or a buzzer, can be recorded on the audio tape to indicate the time when the slides should be advanced on the slide-projector (similar to the operation of filmstrips).

Several different types of slide-tapes can be produced. They include the following:

1. Documentary
2. Instructional (i.e. "how to ..." do something)
3. Aesthetic
4. Travelogue
5. Original Narrative
6. Satire or Parody

The steps involved in the production of slide-tapes are the following:

1. The students were shown several examples of slide-tapes made by previous classes. The different formats were identified and discussed.
2. Time was set aside for the students to originate a variety of possible themes and approaches along any line that interested them. It was the students' choice whether to work together as one large group (of 6–9 members), or whether to divide themselves into two or more groups (or 2–5 members). The division into groups was based on a number of diverse reasons, such as: interest or lack of interest in the chosen production theme and approach; age, sex, or compatibility of the members of the groups; and managability of the production team roles.
3. Each group wrote a "storyboard" for their proposed slide-tape, consisting of a "shot sheet" of the pictures to be taken, as well as writing down the actual narration and type of music to be used [For an example of a student-made storyboard, see

Appendix B]. It took one to several hours to do this, depending upon the amount of time it took the group to reach a consensus and to decide upon the division of production team roles and labor. This time should not be looked upon as wasted, however. From the point of view of language usage and improvement of communication skills, it is perhaps the most useful and significant phase of the entire production process.

4. After the storyboards were perfected and any grammatical errors were corrected, the students spent a couple of hours taking pictures and recording music and/or sound effects.
5. After the slides were developed, they were placed in the correct order. The narration was then recorded on a blank cassette while the music and sound effects were simultaneously blended onto the tape with the narration. This was done by using two tape recorders; one of which had two audio tracks (although this is not essential).
6. The slides and the tape were synchronized, either by an electronic or an audio signal recorded onto the tape.
7. Each group presented their slide-tape to the rest of the class. Students critiqued the tapes, and sometimes made suggestions for improving or refining them. At the end of the one-month term of study at LIOJ, the slide-tapes were presented to the entire student body, including the school principal and all of the teachers. One or two students from each group usually made a short speech introducing the slide-tapes and giving background information on the steps leading to their creation.

The slide-tapes varied in length from 16–75 slides; lasting anywhere from one to ten minutes. The themes were diverse. Some were satires, such as the "The Godmother" and "The Man Who Escaped From LIOJ". Others, like "What Is a Family?" and "The Mount Fuji Ltd. Story" were semi-documentary and instructional in style. Still others like "Love Story In the Computer Age", "The Life of a Flower", and "The Royal Road To Speak English" were original humorous narratives starring many of the LIOJ teachers and students. Almost inevitably, the interest and amusement

generated by the slide-tapes spread throughout the school, involving the active participation of other classes and teachers as well.

With careful planning and organization, the slide-tapes were generally very successful. However, because it is always possible for things to go wrong, flexibility was and is perhaps one of the most important elements of any production. Some possible pitfalls to beware of are: technical problems, and time constraints. As far as technical problems are concerned, it is possible that some of the slides might not come out due to such factors as incorrect use of the camera or the flash attachment. This can be remedied by substituting other available slides that seem to express a similar idea, or adjusting the narration to match the existing slides. It is also possible that the final tape might be unclear, in which case it should be re-recorded with careful attention to such things as speaker-to-mouth distance, (the microphone should be about six inches from the speaker's mouth), and tone and volume control. It is also important to remember that with each "generation" of audio tape that is recorded onto another tape, the sound quality decreases. Therefore, if a cassette tape recorder having two audio tracks is not available, it might be wiser to use only one tape recorder, and record the narration and music simultaneously (while the music is being played on a record player or tape deck).

Regarding interpersonal problems that might arise during the process of the slide-tape productions, it sometimes happens that the original brainstorming session comes to a dead-end with a scarcity of ideas or lack of agreement on the part of the students. In such a case, it seems better to give them time outside of class to come up with fresh ideas for production possibilities, and to discuss these at a future planning session. It is important that the initial group atmosphere be relaxed and non-competitive, especially for classes that are intimidated by the idea of creating an original project that will be shown to several other people. Now and then the situation develops where no one wants to take responsibility for the leadership or the success of the group, or the opposite problem where everyone tries to dominate and direct the group. Under these circumstances the instructor usually does best by trying to outline as clearly as possible all the tasks that need to be accomplished and

realistic deadlines for their completion. If the students are legitimately interested in the project, the group dynamics of the class will usually work out one way or another. If the class is handicapped by severe time limitations, it is feasible for the teacher to restrict the students to one or more possible production formats, such as a "How To ..." type of instruction slide-tape using only 10–12 slides, or a one-minute "Travelogue" of someplace they visited.

VTR PRODUCTION

Three types of videotape projects were successfully incorporated into each month's curriculum with my upper (and sometimes lower) level classes at LIOJ. These were: overdubbing original narrations onto English news programs broadcast on television, videotaping student-created speeches on a variety of designated themes, and videotaping improvisational skits and short dramas designed by the students and/or teacher. In some cases, the students were taught how to operate and control all of the equipment themselves, as well as the necessary production team roles and vocabulary (Talent, Director, VTR Operator, Audio Controller, Camera Operator, and Floor Manager). If time is limited, however, it is possible for the teacher to operate the equipment alone, and to keep the productions simple.

As far as the timing of these activities was concerned, the best approach seemed to be introducing an English news videotape (copied from a television broadcast) in the first or second week of the curriculum. This was used to improve the students' listening comprehension by having them identify the words spoken and the information conveyed. They were aided in this task by making use of things like written headlines, graphics, and film clips, as well as their familiarity with the information previously culled from Japanese newspapers. About 30 or 40 minutes was spent on this activity each day; continuing over a period of two or more days, depending on the level of the particular class.

A subsequent project was the overdubbing of the students' voices onto designated sections of the "film clips" taken from the same program. This was most effectively scheduled at the completion of

the listening comprehension work on the news broadcast, and prior to the recording of the slide-tape narration.

The students worked either singly or in pairs writing original commentaries or descriptions (that were either serious or satirical in approach) which fit the film clips. The students' narration were timed to match the duration of the film clips. After the students had written, revised, and practiced their commentaries, they took turns recording their section of the soundtrack into a microphone inserted into the VTR. When each student completed his section of the soundtrack, the complete tape was replayed for the enjoyment of the entire class. The students and teacher noted any grammatical errors and discussed how to correct them. The video-tapes were sometimes shown to the entire school at the completion of the term, and were viewed by later classes as well. The overdubbing was especially useful as a preparation for the recording of the slide-tape narration, since in both the news overdubbing and the slide-tape narration, it was necessary for the students to practice timing the spoken words with the visual image. Both projects also served to concentrate on the improvement of intonation.

My ESL classes were also engaged in writing, memorizing, and video-taping 1–2 minute speeches on a different topic every week. The purpose of this activity, was to give each student a more in-depth opportunity to verbally express his personal opinions or interests, and to receive individual feedback from the class members and the teacher on the total quality of his presentation. Videotape seems to be more effective than a tape-recorded speech in revealing a student's communicative abilities, since it shows things like eye contact and body language along with verbal and grammatical proficiency.

Among the most successful topics for speeches that I assigned were:

1. a speech and demonstration on "How To ..." (do something), such as: "How To Load a Camera: or "How To Stop Smoking""
2. a short commercial, advertising a product, an organization, a person, or a campaign.
3. a dramatic monologue or dialogue in which a strong feeling of

some kind was expressed.

4. an interview, either with a person or an object. In the case of the interview with an object, the voice of the object was played by another student off-camera.
5. a comical skit or short dramatic situation involving the participation of the entire class (or more than one skit composed by small groups within the class). The skits often worked best when the spoken lines were improvised rather than memorized. If the class is unable to come up with any ideas, the teacher can suggest a general type of framework, such as a detective story, a soap-opera, a love-triangle, etc.
6. improvisations that are cross-culturally adaptable situations; sometimes referred to as "Socio-dramas". The actors are placed in a dramatic situation involving conflict, stress, or cross-loyalties in which they are forced to make a difficult decision in a short time. Such situations can be solved, first as Japanese might be inclined to solve them, and then again as Americans (or some other group) might be inclined to solve them. This sometimes provides a catalyst for interesting cross-cultural discussions.

The process of writing the speeches and skits was very similar to the construction of the photo-essay and slide-tape narrations. The students were given time for brainstorming, either individually or in a group, and a rough-draft was written. The teacher indicated the presence of any errors, usually without specifying the required change, and the students helped each other to make the necessary corrections. After the speeches or skits were reworked, the members of the class practiced delivering them many times to perfect their pronunciation, intonation, and timing. Following the recording of the speeches, the videotape was replayed twice: once for entertainment and enjoyment, and once to locate and correct any errors. The ideal situation is always for the students to recognize and correct as many errors as possible without the aid of the instructor.

CONCLUSION

At the completion of the four-week term of study at the Language Institute of Japan, most of the students who had participated in the media-oriented curriculum seemed to have made noticeable improvements in a variety of different language skills. The most obvious improvement was the overcoming of shyness and hesitancy in speaking English, and the incorporation into their speech many of the recently studied gambits, idioms, and grammatical structures. Several students mentioned that their work with the media productions was useful because it forced them to think directly in English, without translating from Japanese. Others expressed satisfaction at having successfully completed what they viewed as difficult and challenging projects, while thinking and speaking entirely in English. Most students also improved in the area of listening comprehension, although their improvement was not always apparent to them.

A few students were initially skeptical of the idea of media productions on the grounds that it was an unorthodox approach to language learning, especially since it involved enjoyment. Some seemed to find it difficult to readjust their long-standing image of a teacher as a dispenser of information and knowledge, and a student being a passive recipient of knowledge. One student said that he enjoyed the media productions very much, but that he thought the time might be better spent "learning to speak English".

Generally, students such as these developed more positive attitudes as they participated and completed the projects; however in order to avoid misunderstanding and misconceptions, it is necessary to thoroughly explain the purpose and goals of the curriculum at the start of the program and to reiterate them as the program progresses. For the curriculum to be successful, however, student-created media as a focus of ESL instruction provides students with a means of expressing original ideas. They are asked to perform and accomplish tasks that are even a challenge for a native speaker. In the process, the students' improve their communicative abilities in English, and the productions are the evidence of this to the students and the teacher. It also gives the students a sense of accomplish-

ment to have something tangible as proof of their labors in the study of English.

Appendix A

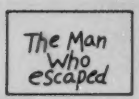
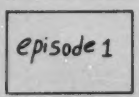
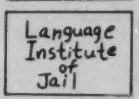
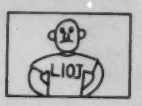
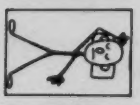
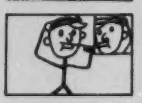
A SAMPLE MEDIA-ORIENTED CURRICULUM FOR ONE MONTH

	MONDAY	TUESDAY	WEDNESDAY	THURSDAY	FRIDAY
WEEK 1	Student Interviews and Placement Test	Objectives and Rationale of Curriculum Student Input	Cross-Cultural Discussion Introduction to Photo-Essays	Take Photo-Essay Pictures Write and Practice Friday's VTR Speeches	Record VTR Speeches: "How To ..." (do something) Listening Comprehension Work with News Program from T.V.
WEEK 2	Write Photo-Essay Narratives Continue Listening Work with T.V. News	Presentation of Photo-Essay News and Film Clips for Listening	Record Students Original Narrations onto Film Clip Videotape Introduction to Slide-Tapes	Plan Slide-Tapes and Decide on Production Team Roles... Write and Practice Friday's VTR Speeches	Record VTR Commercials (selling a product) Write Slide-Tape "Storyboard"
WEEK 3	Finish Storyboard Take Slide-Tape Pictures and Record Music	Intonation Practice for Slide-Tape Narration Using Radio Plays Write Original Radio Plays	Record Students Radio Plays with Music and Sound Effects	Mix and Record Slide-Tape Narration; Program the Slides Write Friday's VTR Speeches	Record VTR Interviews (with a person or an object) Present and Critique the Slide-Tapes
WEEK 4	Act Out Improvisational Skits Involving Conflict and Stress Write and Practice Tuesday's VTR Speeches	Record VTR Melodramas (dramatic monologues, or dialogues, or soap operas)	Write Friday's VTR Skit	Practice the Final Skit, with Props and Costumes	Record VTR Group Skit Show Slide-Tapes and/or VTR Productions to the Entire Student Body

Due to a lack of space, this sample curriculum contains only an outline of the major media projects, and omits a listing of the grammatical work and other language activities included in the month's plan.

Appendix B

AN EXAMPLE OF A STUDENT-CREATED STORYBOARD FOR A SLIDE-TAPE

SLIDES	NARRATION
	"The Man Who Escaped" (music: theme from Kernal Lessons Intermediate published by Longman Group Limited)
	Episode One
	Once there was a famous prison in Odawara. It was called: "LIOJ."
	Every prisoner was forced to wear a uniform.
	Prisoners must get up early every morning ... (music: theme from Peer Gynt)
	... and eat breakfast in about 10 minutes ...
	... so they must brush their teeth, comb their hair, etc. all at the same time.
	Marching "Drill" class begins at 8:30 every morning ... (music: "Bridge Over River Kwai")

Some Advice for Japanese Students Learning English

*Yoshi-Mitsu Shimazu**

INTRODUCTION

"Of all the countries in the world where English has been taught on a nationwide scale, Japan seems to me about the least successful, ..." (Harasawa, 1974: 71).

In this article, I will explore some of the major psychological factors which hinder Japanese students of English and offer some suggestions to facilitate English language learning.

Guiora's research (1971) has shown that high IQ + high need for acquisition = high second language acquisition proficiency. The Japanese, however, might have high IQ's as well as a high need for acquisition scores and still do more poorly in second language acquisition than other non-native language learning peers. The evidence by Gardner and Lambert (1972) indicates that not only are positive affective variables (a favorable disposition toward the language and culture) necessary to acquire native-speaker competence, but also function independently of aptitude and intel-

*Yoshi-Mitsu Shimazu is a native of Kofu, Japan. He received a B.A. in Economics from Tokyo College of Economics. He lives in San Francisco and is studying for a M.A. in Teaching English as a Foreign Language at San Francisco State University. He is presently a teaching assistant in the Foreign Language Department at San Francisco State University.

Acknowledgements: I am indebted to Dr. Thurston Womack, San Francisco State University, for his helpful comments and suggestions on this paper.

ligence. All children learn languages with high proficiency regardless of their aptitude and intelligence or nationality.

As well as using different orthographies, various language families of the world have different ways of thinking and of organizing experience. The deductive cultural thought patterns of the Japanese may facilitate the overgeneralization of the grammar of English and compel the Japanese to structure English according to their own cultural assumptions. Therefore, some people allege that the different thought or perceptual processes of the Japanese hinder their learning of English.

In Public and Private Self in Japan and the United States, Barnlund recently revealed the basic structures of Japanese and American communicative styles. Barnlund identified these styles by a careful analysis of Japanese and American cultural and social values. Over 600 subjects were questioned in his research to determine the salient communicative characteristics of Japanese. His findings conclude that Japanese are 1) reserved, 2) formal, 3) cautious, 4) evasive, and 5) silent in this order while Americans are 1) frank, 2) self-assertive, 3) informal, 4) spontaneous, and 5) talkative (Barnlund, 1975: 56).

I will discuss in greater detail how these characteristics affect the Japanese student's English language learning by giving concrete examples which seem to be related to unsuccessful acquisition of the English language.

FORMALITY – RESERVE

Japanese culture tends to formalize relations and limit intimacy. Barnlund's evidence (1975: 156-7) indicates:

> Japan with its emphasis on formalizing relationships (and reservedness) reduces the scope of verbal disclosure, limits physical intimacy, and encourages withdrawal from threatening confrontations. Few Japanese enter easily into conversation with unknown people. Japanese appear to prefer close ties to a limited number of friends and relatives, and indifference toward people outside this sharply bounded group. Japanese tend to endorse a more limited communication with a smaller circle of acquaintances.

These culturally-determined traits of Japanese people seem to pro-

duce an unfavorable language learning situation. Why? Some examples are given below.

I live and work in the home of a wealthy American family to whom I feel subordinate. My reservedness compels me to use submissive expressions when I speak with them. The other day, for example, I was taking a telephone message at the house. The party at the other end of the line asked me if Mrs. X was home. I answered, "She's just left." This was a legitimate English sentence. I used the contracted form, *she's* in the sentence to say **She was just left* in mind, in order to show respect to the person to whom I was speaking and to my boss. Passive forms in the grammar of my language can carry a high level of respect, so that I subconsciously applied the rules of Japanese grammar which created an odd and ungrammatical sentence. In this case, fortunately, the rule applied vacuously, because the form I used *she's* was identical to the reduced form of *she has*.

This kind of interference from my native language tends to occur in environments such as the following: those in which you have threatening confrontations, those from which you cannot escape, those in which you are compelled to give a spoken response.

A similar incident also happened. One morning Mr. X said to me, "Good morning, Mitch (my nickname). How are you this morning?" I was stumped. I could not answer him immediately. I don't know why, but I became tense and uncomfortable all of a sudden. The style of discourse used by Mr. X should have elicited a frozen expression from me, so I should have simply replied, "Fine, thank you." I have memorized several alternative responses to this greeting, but I have not learned the particular expression to be used according to the degree of familiarity or formality, namely, the functional varieties (Kenyon, 1964: 295). Mr. X's greeting would be considered formal for me psychologically. Martin Joos' "The Styles of the Five Clocks" came immediately to mind. I felt I had to use the frozen form and an adequate intonation which could carry the highest degree of formality. I searched for the most fitting and appropriate answer to Mr. X's question. "Japanese has a much more complex scheme in which four levels of formality intersect with two levels of respect," (Bolinger, 1975: 361), and is accordingly a

reserved, self-effacing language. All of these things presented themselves to me, and I answered, "I'm good, thank you," which was ungrammatical (Berry, 1971: 69). My response, however, was not merely an answer to his question, according to the register, but to a feature of sensitivity attached to my psychological perceptions at the moment.

Native speakers employ this sort of code-switching without thinking. For example, Bill, an American boy, is talking with his close friend, and then with a lady who is a friend of his parents after seeing a movie (Paulston, 1974: 355):

1) friend:	How was it?	2) lady:	Did you enjoy it?
Bill:	It was great!	Bill:	It was very good.

"Native speakers can apply the rules of politeness unconsciously or intuitively, they have pragmatic competence" (Lakoff, 1975), while non-native reserved speakers become "uptight" and are baffled by the situational constraints on the register variation rule of English and end up producing odd responses. The reservedness of Japanese students and register interference can confuse their utterances.

I play volleyball with the American Language Institute instructors at San Francisco State University twice a week. I enjoy the game and the atmosphere, but I cannot join in the linguistic atmosphere there. The words and phrases they use with each other sound strange and unfamiliar to me. They are very short, choppy, and unintelligible. In Gumperz' terms quoted by Paulston (1974: 348):

> Effective communication requires that speakers and audiences agree both on the meaning of words and on the social importance or values attached to choice of expression .... We still use the term social significance or social meaning to refer to the social values implied when an utterance is used in a certain context.

I have practiced English many years but was not exposed to an atmosphere where casual conversation was going on in my country. I have been in the United States for almost three years and feel that I should have mastered colloquial patter of this kind by now. I think I have done so, but cannot always handle the language of specific situations. I do not have the selective power of deciding

where and when to use this kind of patter. Am I selectively forgetting or pruning out those expressions and overgeneralizing according to my own rules? Jain (1969) maintains:

> When the learner feels that he has learned enough of the target language to fulfill his purposes, he will simply stop learning. Thereafter, he will always speak an interlanguage marked with fossils, which are errors that are firmly entrenched in his interlanguage and which distinguish his speech from that of native speakers (Taylor, 1974: 32).

I have never felt that I have learned enough of the English language, nor do I feel I have reached functional competence. What is the reason for my own continuing errors? It is probably due to my personality, which is representative of the typical Japanese stereotype, namely, the formal.

The people at the volleyball court seem to me to use appropriate words and phrases for that situation intuitively; e.g., *She's pretty* (casual), or *cute* (intimate) instead of saying, *She is comely* (frozen), *Taste good?* – dropping of words at the beginning of utterance – for *Does it taste good?*, etc. (Bolinger, 1975: 362).

I know these rules, but I simply cannot use them as my own. I cannot be informal linguistically. Maybe I only possess a minimal functional competence and speak an interlanguage marked with fossils (Selinker, 1972: 114-36).

CAUTIOUSNESSS – SILENCE

Adults are, in general, more reserved and cautious than children, because adults anticipate the criticism of others, due to the mistakes they make when speaking English. Many people agree that if an adult can behave like a child in second language learning, he is more likely to succeed in learning the language. Adults are more self conscious, more sensitive to being criticized in public, and more self protective about what they say and how they behave than children.

Japanese are very cautious. They are afraid of making mistakes. As anyone who has taught English to speakers of Japanese knows they do not express what they are unsure of. They subconsciously, however, gather a great defensive advantage because they are afraid

of being criticized. They keep their mouths closed and remain silent. "It is extremely important to say something, right or wrong, rather than be silent" (Joy, 1976: 38). Very few Japanese use gestures to get their message across or spell a word when their pronunciation is not understandable. They limit themselves to a particular sentence construction. They rarely try to form new words and check the response. As Rubin (1975: 47) pointed out, one must have strong motivation to communicate. The good language learner uses whatever knowledge he has to get his message across. Japanese may have a strong desire to communicate, but they remain silent rather than use an unfamiliar sentence which may lead them to embarrassment. For the Japanese people, the maximum silence is golden or a virtue has been meaningful for a long time, so that speaking out or learning a language through audio-lingual practice was not encouraged.

These communicative characteristics are negative factors to a great extent in interpersonal understanding. Are these also minus factors in second language learning? I would say yes. If you are silent, you become deficient in your linguistic performance.

EVASIVENESS – VAGUENESS

When we compare the Japanese language with English, it quickly becomes apparent that one can be much more vague in Japanese. Morsback (1976: 250-1) notes:

> Sentences left unfinished or ending with a *desho* (perhaps?) or *desuga* (... but) are quite common. It is quite possible in Japanese to utter a long sentence, which has a certain meaning; and then to use the identical sentence on another occasion, changing the major verb from positive to negative.

Furthermore, Miller (1967: 289-90) says, "There is a large degree of polite patter in Japan which, compared to English, one might call oververbalization." These kinds of characteristics which relate to the vagueness of the Japanese language will tend to predispose the English language learner to make errors.

Most of my experiences testify to this. I often produce, for example, sentences such as, *Well, I guess, I might as well leave now*

... *but* ..., where I really mean, *I have to leave now.* I am applying the rules of my native language. English speakers might be quite puzzled at such kinds of remarks. They might wonder what I mean. Am I trying to be deferent or self protective? Absolute clarity is not my aim. Completeness of the sentence is not the aim in my native language.

By using the rules of vagueness, the Japanese attempt to avoid conflict or clash, and keep harmony. Barnlund (1975: 130) quotes, "As Halloran suggests, confrontation or *tairitsu,* must be avoided at all cost in Japanese society." Rosen (1976: 6) once put it, "The avoidance of conflict can be a very positive aspect, and it can enhance a relationship by creating a more peaceful and flowing energy."

There is an often-heard criticism that Japanese do not specify whether they mean yes or no, whether they agree or disagree. Kunihiro (1974: 54), a simultaneous translator, once presented the Japanese view of language as being a community of emotion or sympathy. In Japan, he remarked:

> We have held language as a means of evoking empathy or sympathy among the members of a particular group, whereas in the West you have regarded language as an instrument to transmit very tangible knowledge or information.

Barnlund (1975: 12) differentiates empathy or rapport from agreement or clarity:

> When it (interpersonal understanding) involves an integration of facts or ideas, it is usually called an agreement; when it involves sharing a mood or feeling, it is referred to as empathy or rapport.

Vagueness in Japanese is a part of the communicative competence in Japan. Some linguists in the United States posit rules of politeness[1] which are used to achieve camaraderie, deference, and

[1] Lakoff (1975: 299) suggests two rules of pragmatic competence, (1) be clear, and (2) be polite. Later she further divides rule 2 into three rules of politeness: rule 1–use passive and impersonal expressions, rule 2–use expressions such as *sort of, I guess,* or euphemisms, etc., rule 3–use expressions such as *like, y'know, I mean, etc.* Rule (2) seems to reflect the logic that Japanese people use in interpersonal transactions all the time, viz., the property of vagueness. You can give options to the addressee or soften the effect of a statement in concession to a possibly different opinion of the addressee.

so forth. It seems to me that Westerners are perhaps moving in our direction. I infer that the more homogeneous the society is, the less the people talk, because within it they can understand each other quite readily without talking (Joos' intimate style: 147). They need not verbalize everything, because they share many things in common and other communicative devices develop, such as body gestures, eye contact, the so-called non-verbal communicative devices (Yasui, 1975: 308-9).

WHAT CAN STUDENTS DO FOR SUCCESS IN SECOND LANGUAGE ACQUISITION?

We have now attested to the fact that none of the above communicative characteristics of Japanese are favorable to the acquisition of a second language. It is wise for Japanese students to keep the following maxims in mind:

1. Avoid consciously the above mentioned communicative behaviors.
2. Have favorable attitudes toward the target culture (Shimazu, 1977: 12).
3. Acculturate or assimilate with the target language group (Schumann, 1976: 141).
4. Be in non-dominant relationships with the target language group (Schumann, 1976: 141).
5. Realize that the native language need not be viewed as a generator of interference or as a system which must be overcome, but rather, considered as a reference point: a linguistic system to which the student has no alternative but to use when he wishes to say something in the target language for which he is linguistically unprepared and when he has no other meaningful linguistic category in the target language on which to rely (Taylor, 1974: 31).
6. Be aware that the adult's more advanced cognitive maturity should allow him to deal with the abstract nature of language even better than children (Taylor, 1974: 32-3).
7. Note that there are many adults who have been able to acquire a language with native proficiency, even without the benefit of

instruction (Taylor, 1974: 32).

Furthermore, the learner should observe Rubin's (1975: 41-51) suggestions about strategies for good language learning. He should:

1. have the willingness to guess, which includes a sensitivity to clues,
2. have a strong drive to communicate or to learn from a communication (circumlocution, paraphrase, gestures, cognates),
3. have a lack of inhibition,
4. be aware of the important formal features of a language (grammatical, sensitivity, and inductive language learning ability–Carroll, Sapon, and Pimsleur),
5. have motivation and create opportunities for practice,
6. have ability to monitor (check and adjust the quality of) his own speech and that of others,
7. have ability to attend to the meaning of the speech act (context, relationship of the speakers, etc.).

On the basis of my own experiences and the insight of others, I have attempted to describe some communicative characteristics of Japanese that come from the culture and the structure of the Japanese language. The characteristics I've explained create difficulties for Japanese students studying English. I provided suggestions that I hope will help students overcome the difficulties. In addition, the description of the communicative characteristics and the suggestions to Japanese students can be a guide to the teachers of Japanese students.

REFERENCES

1. Barnlund, Dean C., *Public and Private Self in Japan and the United States.* Tokyo: The Simul Press, 1975.
2. Berry, Thomas E., *The Most Common Mistakes in English Usage.* New York: McGraw Hill, 1971.
3. Bolinger, Dwight, *Aspects of Language.* New York: Harcourt Brace Javanovich, 1975.
4. Clarke, Mark A., "Second Language Acquisition as a Clash of Consciousness." *Language Learning,* Volume 26, number 2, 1976.
5. Greenbaum, Sidney, "Language Variation and Acceptability." *TESOL Quarterly,* Volume 9, number 2, 1975.

6. Guiora, Alexander Z., "The Role of Personality Variables in Second Language Behavior." Final Report, Contract No. DAHC 15 70 C 0239, Washington D.C.: Defense Language Institute Headquarters, R&S Division, 1971.
7. Harasawa, Masayoshi, "A Critical Survey of English Language Teaching in Japan: A A Personal View." *English Language Teaching*, Volume 29, October, 1974.
8. Joos, Martin, "The Styles of The Five Clocks." In Abrahams, R.D. and R.C. Troike (Eds.), *Language and Cultural Diversity in American Education*, New Jersey: Prentice Hall, 1967.
9. Joy, Gwen Thurston, "The Silent Way." *Cross Currents*, Volume IV, No. 1, Odawara, Japan: Language Institute of Japan, 1976.
10. Kenyon, John S., "Cultural Levels and Functional Varieties of English." In Harold B. Allen (Ed.), *Readings in Applied English Linguistics*, 1964.
11. Kunihiro, Masao, "Talk Show." NHK TV EIGOKAIWA, December, Tokyo: NHK, 1974.
12. Labov, William, *Sociolinguistic Patterns*, Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1972.
13. Lado, Robert, *Linguistics Across Cultures*, University of Michigan Press, 1957.
14. Lakoff, Robin, "The Logic of Politeness or Minding Your P's and Q's." *Chicago Linguistic Society*, Volume 9, 1975.
15. Morsback, Helmut, "Aspects of Non-verbal Communication." In Samovar, L.A., and R.E. Porter (Eds.), *Intercultural Communication: A Reader*, Belmont, California: Wadsworth Publishing Co., 1976.
16. Miller, R.A., *The Japanese Language*, Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1967.
17. Neumark, Leonard, and David A. Reibel, "Necessity and Sufficiency in Language Learning." *International Review of Applied Linguistics*, Volume 6, 1968: 145-164.
18. Ney, James W., "Towards a Synthetization of Teaching Methodologies for TESOL." *TESOL Quarterly*, Volume 7, No. 1, 1973.
19. Paulston, Christina B., "Linguistic and Communicative Competence." *TESOL Quarterly*, Volume 8, No. 4, 1974.
20. Rosen, Missy, "Intercultural and Interpersonal Project." an unpublished paper presented to Speech 601, San Francisco State University, 1976.
21. Rubin, Joan. "What the 'Good Language Learner' Can Teach Us." *TESOL Quarterly*, Volume 9, No. 1, 1975.
22. Schumann, John H., "Social Distance as a Factor in Second Language Acquisition." *Language Learning*, Volume 26, No. 1, 1976.
23. Selinker, Larry. "Interlanguage." In J.H. Schumann and N. Stenson (Eds.), *New Frontiers in Second Language Learning*, Newbury House Publisher, 1972.
24. Shimazu, Yoshi-Mitsu, "Japanese Students' Motivation and Attitudes Toward American English Learning." an unpublished paper presented to English 724 (Sociolinguistics), San Francisco State University, 1977.
25. Taylor, Barry P., "Toward a Theory of Language Acquisition." *Language Learning*, Volume 24, No. 1, 1974.
26. Wolfram, Walt, and R. Rasold, "Field Methods in the Study of Social Dialects." *Study of Social Dialects in American English*, 1974.
27. Yasui, Minoru, *Kenkyusha's Dictionary of New Linguistics*, Tokyo: Kenkyusha, 1975.

Patterns of Oral Communication among the Japanese

*Donald W. Klopf, Satoshi Ishii, Ronald Cambra**

Observations of Japanese speaking habits imply that the typical Japanese is shy, uncomfortable, and self-conscious in most oral communication situations. Yoshikawa (1977: 103-124) contends the Japanese are evasive, passive, restrictive, reserved, and non-persuasive. Nishiyama believes that verbal aggressiveness is not a Japanese virtue as children are trained from early childhood not to talk too much. They learn not to speak during meals, to strangers, and in public unless it is absolutely necessary to do so. The Japanese are concerned with "saving face" claims Nishiyama (1973: 91-92) and will do almost anything to avoid public embarrassment. Ueda writes that the Japanese people traditionally do not enjoy conversation or dialogue with other people. She thinks that the "... attitudes of holding back one's ideas and feelings before others was so deeply implanted in the Japanese during the feudalistic reign of the Tokugawa Shogunate that it continued to a decade or so ago" (1974: 39). Naruke's evaluation is even stronger. The Japanese suffer from the phobia of meeting other people, he argues, and experience embarrassment in communicating with each other (1974:

*Donald Klopf is Professor and Chairman, Department of Speech, University of Hawaii. Satoshi Ishii is an instructor in English, Otsuma Women's University, Tokyo, Japan. Ronald Cambra is an Assistant Professor, Department of Speech, University of Hawaii.

12-20). Nakane (1970: 130-131) contends that the Japanese culture hinders oral interaction and, as a whole, the Japanese are not sociable.

The observations of Yoshikawa, Nishiyama, Ueda, Naruke, and Nakane suggest a people who are apprehensive about speaking with others. Shyness, self-consciousness, and embarrassment are characteristics of communication apprehension.

The opinions of Nishida, Ishikawa and Yoshikawa seem to contradict the belief that the Japanese are apprehensive. The Japanese may not be apprehensive at all, but simply prefer silence in many social situations that in Western culture would call for talk. Nishida (1977: 69) notes that the Japanese can sit together quite comfortably without saying a word to each other. Ishikawa tells of a survey conducted in Japan about speaking. Among those surveyed, 76% believed a "silent" man rather than a "eloquent" man will succeed in business in Japan. Over 65% of the women questioned in the same survey chose "silent" men over "eloquent" men as candidates for marriage. Ishikawa (1970) adds that many Japanese who regard themselves as "eloquent" would prefer to be "silent." This preoccupation with silence, Yoshikawa (1977: 103-124) assumes, results from a basic mistrust among Japanese of verbal messages and a preference for a nondiscursive, aesthetic-oriented approach. Such an approach stresses the nonverbal expression of feelings and attitudes over talk.

These slightly conflicting viewpoints raise questions about Japanese speaking. Are the Japanese orally non-communicative? When they do speak, are they apprehensive? Are they verbally predisposed? How do they relate interpersonally with others? What satisfactions do they have interacting with others in groups?

To answer these and similar questions, we have studied characteristics of Japanese speaking. The results of our studies, along with explanations of research methodology and data analysis, are available elsewhere.[1] Here we report our principal conclusions in the form of answers to the five questions. In our answers, we offer com-

[1] See Klopf and Ishii, 1976; Cambra, Ishii and Klopf, 1978; and Ishii, Cambra and Klopf, 1978.

parisons with American speaking habits to show the degree of a problem if one should exist.

To make the comparisons, five instruments were administered to Japanese and American university students. The instruments are the following: 1) the Samovar, Porter and Brooks Communication Log distributed to 1200 Japanese and American students; 2) the Personal Report of Communication Apprehension for College Students to 1400 students; 3) the Predispositions toward Verbal Behavior to 711 Japanese students and 568 Americans; 4) the Fundamental Interpersonal Relations Orientation–Behavior to 50 Japanese and 50 American students; and 5) the Orientation Inventory to 50 Japanese and 50 American students.

ORAL COMMUNICATION

Are the Japanese non-communicative orally? Obviously, they talk, but are they essentially a "silent" people as the literature might cause us to believe? The answer is "no;" they talk a great deal in an average day, although not as much as Americans do.

We asked groups of Japanese and Americans to log their daily communication activities for one week. The activities included conversing, listening, public speaking, television viewing/radio listening, reading, and writing. The Japanese spend one-half of their awake hours in the average weekday communicating in one or another of the six activities, the Americans almost three-fourths. Of this time, one-half is devoted to communicating orally by the Japanese, slightly over four hours per average day. Although the Americans double that communication time, the amount of time spent conversing, listening and public speaking by the Japanese does not uphold the belief that to the Japanese "silence is golden" (Klopf and Ishii, 1976).

COMMUNICATION APPREHENSION

Are the Japanese apprehensive when they talk with others? The answer is "yes" they are, and significantly more so than Americans. Before describing the differences, we should explain what apprehen-

sion is.

Communication apprehension is defined as a person's level of fear or anxiety associated with either real or anticipated communication with one or more persons. Two characterizing levels occur – situational and general. Situational apprehension, commonly called "stage fright," is the fear or anxiety people experience in specific speaking situations particularly when others are observing for the purpose of evaluating what is said. Giving a speech to an audience illustrates a possible stage fright situation. The speaker will be talking with quite a few people whose listening entails judging not only the speaker's ideas, but how he says them, how he looks, and a host of other factors.

Public speaking is not the only situation the situational apprehensive person may fear. It could be talking to a group or being interviewed for a job – any specific situation where evaluation is expected. The apprehension, however, is restricted to the specific situation.

General communication apprehension is fear or high apprehension in almost every speaking encounter, whether evaluation is anticipated or not. Those who are apprehensive in this general sense avoid communication as much as possible in order to avoid the fear and anxiety they have learned to associate with oral interaction. Their anxiety surpasses any gains they think they will achieve by talking. Therefore, they either do not speak at all or avoid speaking unless they are obligated to do so. When they have to speak, they feel anxious, tense, uncomfortable, and embarrassed. Others see them as non-assertive, shy, or reticent.

Those apprehensive in the general sense will respond negatively to any oral communication situation, real or anticipated, public or private, involving any number of people in small or large groups (McCroskey, 1977: 78-96).

Situational apprehension is a common experience. In a study of what Americans fear most, 41% fear giving a public speech, the highest percent attributed to any of the fears identified by the respondants (*The Bruskin Report,* 1973). On the other hand, general communication apprehension is not a characteristic of normal, well-adjusted individuals. Yet, a surprising number of people can be described as highly apprehensive, feeling threatened in almost all

oral communication situations.[2]

Almost two-thirds of the Japanese whom we studied fall into the general category, perceiving themselves to be highly apprehensive in most oral encounters. Slightly less than half of the Americans we contacted also categorize themselves as highly apprehensive, a percentage much above the national average.

In terms of both situational and general apprehension levels, the Japanese are significantly more apprehensive than the Americans, in all communication settings, interpersonal, small group and public speaking (Ishii, Cambra and Klopf, 1978: 86-94).

VERBAL PREDISPOSITIONS

Are the Japanese verbally predisposed? No, the Japanese we studied have a lower inclination to talk than do Americans.

To be explicit, we should explain what is a predisposition toward verbal behavior. Most people hold impressions of the way they orally express themselves to others. These images tend to be consistent from one type of speaking situation to another. That is to say, if a person sees himself as speaking slow and deliberate in conversation with another, he sees himself speaking the same way in small groups and as a public speaker. Usually one person's impressions or images are confirmed by others, in fact, the person's impressions possibly come originally from the observations others made of his manner of speech (Mortensen, Arnston and Lustiz, 1977: 146-158).

People's general impressions of their verbal behavior consist of several factors, according to the literature on the subject. People are concerned about dominating, initiating and maintaining communication. The amount of communication both in frequency and duration also shapes their verbal predispositions as does fluency. These factors give a general inclination people hold toward speech (Morensen, Arnston and Lustiz, 1977, 152-154).

Our research of Japanese and American groups reveals that the

---

[2] McCroskey reports "... approximately 20% of the students in major universities may be appropriately described as having high trait (generalized) CA, with even higher percentages existing in some smaller colleges and community colleges" (McCroskey, 1977: 79-80). A study not reported here of 402 University of Hawaii students shows 61% with high apprehension.

Japanese perceive themselves to have a low predisposition toward verbal behavior, the Americans somewhat higher.

A factor-by-factor analysis suggests the following statements about the Japanese and American speech inclinations.

1. Dominance. In most social situations, the typical Japanese does not direct the course of conversation, nor does he come on strong. Further, he does not dominate oral encounters, nor does he talk forcefully. His remarks are brief; he does not speak for long periods of time. Occassionally, he sees himself as taking charge of things when he is with others. Generally, however, the Japanese score low on the dominance factor and, interestingly, the results show the Americans do likewise, perceiving themselves as exhibiting almost identical dominance behavior as the Japanese.

2. Initiating and maintaining interpersonal communication. In social situations, the typical Japanese is inclined to let others start conversations and doesn't speak too often or too freely. Yet, he does jump into informal conversations and doesn't let others talk for long periods of time. The typical American sees himself following an almost identical pattern.

3. Frequency and duration of communication. The Japanese response to this factor is inconclusive, although, there is evidence to suggest that the typical Japanese would talk often in the company of people he knows well, not so frequently with strangers. The average American sees himself as speaking frequently in almost all situations.

4. General disinclination to talk. Again, the Japanese response is inconclusive. At best, it seems that the typical Japanese sees himself as willing to talk with friends, but not with strangers. The American, in contrast, feels he will express his views regardless of the company – friends or strangers.

5. Fluency or anxiety. As is expected, the typical Japanese views fluency as a problem. He believes he is inhibited, hesitant and pauses often when he speaks. His perception confirms the conclusion we stated earlier on apprehension: the Japanese see themselves as apprehensive in communication situations. The Americans reaction is just the opposite, again confirming the apprehension study results that Americans as a group are less apprehensive than the

Japanese.

Both groups, however, do not see themselves as overly domineering in oral interaction, even though the Japanese are less inclined to communicate than the Americans, and are shyer and more self-conscious (Cambra, Ishii and Klopf, 1978).

INTERPERSONAL RELATIONS

How do the Japanese relate interpersonally, that is, one-to-one with another? Apparently they have a low to moderate need to maintain interpersonal relationships, especially when compared to Americans whose need is much stronger. The area of interpersonal relationships deserves further explanation in order to better understand the question's answer.

People behave the way they do, state the theories of motivation, in order to satisfy certain needs, desires, or wants. Depending on what authority is consulted, many such needs are identified, some of which can be satisfied only in the company of other people (Klopf, 1976: 33).

One American, William Schutz (1976: 3-19), postulates that the satisfaction of three social needs have the greatest effect on how people relate to each other. He labeled and defined these needs as follows:

1. Inclusion – the desire (or lack of desire) to be accepted, understood, listened to, well-known; to join, to be social.
2. Control – the desire (or lack of desire) to control others, be in charge, make the decisions.
3. Affection – the degree to which people like to have close, personal relations with others; and the extent to which people will initiate relations or the capacity to want love.

Each need consists of two parts – "expressed" and "wanted." For example, "expressed" inclusion is how much inclusion a person expresses or tries to give. "Wanted" inclusion is how much inclusion a person likes to get from others or how much he wants to receive.

Using Schutz's classification, we came to the following conclusions from our study of Japanese and American interpersonal relations.

Inclusion. In terms of expressed inclusion – the desire people have to be social, to belong, or to join groups – the Japanese and Americans prove to be almost directly opposite. The Japanese responses show them to be very selective in the groups they join, somewhat detached and self-sufficient from others and able to be alone. The Americans prefer to initiate contacts with others, to join social groups, to be included in social activities, to belong to clubs and organizations, and to strive for material things they think will make them appear important.

The comparison is as extreme in the wanted inclusion area also. The Japanese do not feel strongly about wanting other people to include them in their activities, to recognize them as important, and to listen to them. The Americans do want to be included, to feel important, and to be listened to.

Control. The Japanese edge the Americans, albeit slightly, in the expressed control area, although this need in both groups is a moderate one. The majority of the Japanese and Americans like to have some control over their interpersonal relations and express a desire to be in charge sometimes when with people, but not always. Occasionally they would like to get others to do what they want and sometimes desire to make decisions for others.

If, as the results show, the Japanese desire to control interpersonal relations slightly more than the Americans, then the Americans should want to be controlled slightly more than the Japanese. That apparently is the case; the Americans do have a slightly stronger need to be controlled. As in expressed control, the need to be controlled is moderate. On a scale of weak to strong, the need would fall about in the middle range for both groups.

Affection. The Americans' expressed affection need is stronger than the Japanese. With most people, the Americans try to be closer, to share their feelings, to give of themselves, and to make more friends than do the Japanese. On the other hand, the Japanese prefer to make fewer friends, are more hesitant about close, personal relations, and are less able to express affection verbally and nonverbally.

In the wanted affection area, the Japanese reveal a very weak need for affection. They prefer people to keep their distance, and

want to be close with only a very few people. They prefer to receive love and affection than give it. The Americans, in contrast, have a stronger need for affection, wanting people to act friendly toward them (Cambra, Ishii and Klopf, 1978).

GROUP TASK SATISFACTION

How do the Japanese interact with others in groups working on a task? They appear, our research indicates, to get satisfaction from working on the task, but not from working with the others.

To comprehend the satisfaction one gets from working with others, further information is helpful, and an American psychologist, Bernard Bass (1962: 3-20), provides an information source. How a person reacts to the challenge of a job and to those working with him depends upon the kinds of satisfaction and rewards he seeks and the dissatisfactions most disturbing to him. Often mutually exclusive are three kinds of satisfaction: gaining some self-satisfying ends, getting the job done, or having a happy time with others. This three-fold classification is drawn from a theory of interpersonal behavior in organizations.

Bass describes the three-fold classification in detail, and we include it next along with our conclusions about the behavior of the Japanese and Americans for each.

1. Self-orientation. This reflects the extent a person describes himself as expecting direct rewards to himself regardless of the job he is doing or the effects of what he does upon others working with him. For him, a group is literally a theatre in which certain generalized needs can be satisfied. The other members are both the remainder of the cast as well as an audience for which the self-oriented member can air his personal difficulties, gain esteem or status, aggress or dominate. A person with a high self-orientation is more likely to be rejected by others, to be introspective, to be dominating and to be unresponsive to the needs of others around him. He is concerned mainly with himself, not co-workers' needs or the job to be done.

Both the Japanese and American groups respond similarly, responses which place them at the normative level with Americans

studied by Bass. What this means is both groups are neither high nor low, but have a normal degree of self-orientation.

2. Interaction-orientation. This reflects the extent of concern with maintaining happy, harmonious relationships in a superficial sort of way, often making it difficult to contribute to the task at hand or to be of real help to others. Interest in group activities is high, but not ordinarily conducive to the progress of the group in completing tasks. People who score high here are socially group dependent, tending to be warm and sociable, without any desire to succeed in what they do.

A significant difference appears between the Japanese and Americans in this area. The Japanese are virtually identical to the norms Bass established in his research, suggesting that their behavior is normal. However, the Americans respond high, suggesting a group needing to interact socially with others.

3. Task-orientation. This reflects the extent to which a person is concerned about completing a job, solving problems, working persistently and doing the best job possible. In groups, despite his concern with the task, the task-oriented member tends to work hard within the group to make it as productive as possible. If he is interested in what the group is doing, he will fight hard for what he regards as right.

The Japanese meet the norms Bass reports while the Americans are slightly below, although not much. So, both groups could be considered to have a normal degree of task-orientation (Cambra, Ishii and Klopf, 1978)

DISCUSSION

What do the answers to the five questions give us? What we arrive at, the answers strongly imply, is evidence that the observations of Yoshikawa, Nishiyama, Ueda, Naruke and Nakane mentioned earlier have basis in fact. The Japanese are shy, self-conscious, and embarrassed when communicating with others, especially strangers. They hesitate to dominate, initiate or maintain conversations. By and large, they are selective in groups they join and have no great desire to be included in other people's activities. Preferring a

few friends, they limit the number of close, personal relationships they have with others. They have a slight desire to control interpersonal relationships and a weak desire to be controlled. Task-oriented, in groups they work persistently to do the best job possible and to be as productive as they can.

Even though the research generally confirms the scholarly observations about Japanese communication practices, they should be interpreted or utilized very tentatively. Further studies are necessary to accumulate more extensive and representative data to make the conclusions more meaningful. Even with more data, they should be viewed with caution.

The research instruments and methods used in the studies reported here are American contrived and reflect the values Americans place on oral communication. Culturally, the Japanese attach different values to speaking, differences that may well lead to the disinclination to be verbal.

Yoshikawa describes some of these values, values at odds with American communication ideals. The Japanese value harmony and will avoid opposing anyone directly. The Americans are just the opposite; they value openness, frankness, and a healthy confrontation of ideas even though disharmony occurs. To the Japanese the speaker's feelings are crucial; to the Americans, feelings are not as vital as the exchange of ideas or messages. The Japanese believe it poor policy to use language to persuade or establish understanding; the Americans consider it good policy. For the Japanese, it is total understanding with another; if they find they cannot accept another's ideas then they cannot accept the total person uttering the ideas. The Americans, on the other hand, realize it is not possible to totally understand another, thus, they tend to keep separate their feelings about another as a person and their feelings about the person's ideas that may be in conflict with theirs. Finally, the Japanese are apt to be indirect in their communication, using intermediary symbols or persons to present their ideas, while the Americans are up-front and direct (Yoshikawa, 1977: 103-124)[3].

---

[3] See also "How the Japanese Communicate Non-verbally." In Donald W. Klopf and James C. McCroskey, *Nonverbal Communication*, Tokyo: Tok En Publishing Co., 1978: 26-36.

These cultural distinctions probably account for much of the Japanese's reluctance to communicate orally. However, Yoshikawa's conclusions are based on a comparison of Japanese and American communication styles. As the Japanese communicate among themselves, they may not be reluctant at all; rather, they may prefer a more nonverbal style.

For the teacher of English, or, for that matter, any foreign language teacher in Japan, the data gathered in our studies should have meaning and usefulness, as it should have for anyone interacting or planning to interact with the Japanese. The teacher's students are not going to respond well to learning how to speak the foreign language, even though they seem to recognize that learning how to speak a language has greater value to them than learning how to read or write it. Likewise, anyone else, for instance, foreign businessmen planning to do business with the Japanese, should understand the characteristics of Japanese speech we have described.

Just understanding may not be helpful to the teacher whose livelihood depends on developing effective communicators. Necessary is something beyond the knowledge that the Japanese are reluctant to talk. The question perhaps is, "What can the teacher do?" An answer, detailed elsewhere (Klopf, 1978), is to acknowledge that the reluctance exists and to create an instructional program that deals with it, a program which reduces the apprehension first then concentrates on how to speak the new language.

In summary, our studies investigated five aspects of Japanese communication behavior, and then compared the Japanese responses with those of Americans. We found the Japanese to be less communicative, more apprehensive, less verbally inclined, and less comfortable relating to one or several people than the Americans.

REFERENCES

1. Bass, Bernard M., *The Orientation Inventory – Manual.* research edition Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press, Inc., 1962: 3-20.
2. Cambra, Ronald, Satoshi Ishii and Donald Klopf, "Four Studies of Japanese Speech Characteristics." paper prepared for the Communication Association of the Pacific Convention, June 10–11, 1978, Tokyo, Japan.
3. Ishii, Satoshi, Ronald Cambra and Donald Klopf, "Communication Anxiety: A Comparison of Japanese and American College Students." *Otsuma Review,* 10, January 1978: 86-94.
4. Ishikawa, Hiroyoshi, "The Silent Type Succeeds." *The Mainichi Shimbun,* July 20, 1970.
5. Klopf, Donald W., *Interacting in Groups: Discussion and Leadership,* Tokyo: Oaku Shobo Publishing Co., 1976: 33.
6. Klopf, Donald W., "A Method of Reducing Apprehension in the Classroom." paper prepared for the Communication Association of the Pacific Convention, June 10-11, Tokyo, Japan, 1978.
7. Klopf, Donald and Satoshi Ishii, "A Comparison of the Communication Activities of Japanese and American Adults." *ELEC Bulletin,* 53, Spring 1976.
8. McCroskey, James C., "Oral Communication Apprehension." *Human Communication Research,* 4, Fall 1977: 78-96.
9. Mortensen, C. David, Paul H. Arnston and Myron Lustiz, "The Measurement of Verbal Predispositions: Scale Development and Application." *Human Communication Research,* 3, Winter 1977: 146-158.
10. Nakane, Chie, *Japanese Society.* Berkeley: University of California Press, 1970: 130-131.
11. Naruke, Nobuo, "Selected Characteristics of Japanese Communication," *Speech Education,* II, August 1974: 12-20.
12. Nishida, Tsukasa, "An Analysis of a Cultural Concept Affecting Japanese Interpersonal Communication." *Communication,* VI, July 1977: 69.
13. Nishiyama, Kazuo, "English Training for Japanese Executives." *Communication,* II, July 1973: 91-93.
14. Schutz, William C., *The FIRO Scales – Manual.* Palo Alto, CA: Consulting Psychologists Press Inc., 1976: 3-19.
15. *The Bruskin Report,* "What Are Americans Afraid Of? " no. 53, 1953.
16. Ueda, Toriko, "Oral Interpretation in Japan." *Speech Education,* II, August 1974: 39.
17. Yoshikawa, Muneo, "Implications of Martin Buber's Philosophy of Dialogue in Japanese and American Intercultural Communication." *Communication,* VI, July 1977: 103-124.

Cultural Silence in the Interpersonal Dynamics of Community Language Learning

*Paul G. La Forge**

The purpose of this paper is to show how a proper use of cultural silence can contribute to progress in English conversational ability. Certainly, other important areas of English education exist, but as an American teacher of English, I would like to concentrate on the mastery of English conversation and on Japanese cultural factors which affect the learning process. There will be three parts to this paper. Cultural silence will be described in part one. Cultural silence consists of five typical Japanese attitudes toward verbal communication and silence. Each attitude contains an affective bind which presents a challenge to the teacher of English conversation. Affective binds, within the scope of this paper, are feeling attitudes which hinder progress in acquiring English speaking ability. Affective binds are derived both from Japanese culture and from the language learning process. The challenge to the teacher of conversation is a creative task connected with each Japanese cultural attitude toward silence. If the affective bind can be dissolved through accomplishing the creative task, then cultural silence can be used by

*Father La Forge, Assistant Professor, Nanzan Junior College, Nagoya, Japan, is author of *Research Profiles with Community Language Learning* (The Apple River Press, 1975). He holds a third class black belt in Kodokan Judo. This article was orginally published in *IRLT Newsletter* number 69, January 1978, and is reprinted here with their kind permission and that of the author.

the teacher to promote progress in English speaking ability.

The interpersonal dynamics of Community Language Learning (CLL), will be explained in section two. Some discussion of the interpersonal dynamics of CLL is necessary if we are to understand how the five tasks of part one are to be accomplished. According to the originator of CLL, Charles A. Curran (1972: 23) of Loyola University, Chicago, language learning is persons and persons in dynamic relationships. English conversation ability, for instance, is acquired in the interpersonal relationships of a community, between a teacher and a group of students, and even among the students themselves. Stevick (1976: 119) says that the term "interpersonal dynamics" or "psychodynamics" translated into Latin would be something like "intra- and interpersonal action." In plain Anglo-Saxon, interpersonal dynamics are "what goes on inside and between folks." What goes on "inside folks" is the dynamic development of the person of the learner as he increases his ability in English. What goes on "between folks" are dynamic changes in the interpersonal relationships between the teacher and students through progress in English speaking.

Uses of cultural silence in the interpersonal dynamics of CLL will be discussed in part three. The CLL teacher employs different kinds of group learning contracts, which consist of experience and reflection, in order to accomplish the five tasks described in part one. All of the learning contracts were derived from Japanese culture.

FIVE TYPICAL JAPANESE ATTITUDES TOWARD SILENCE

The Aesthetics of Silence. Five typical Japanese attitudes toward verbalization and silence have been described by Masao Kunihiro (1974a; 1974b; 1976). The teacher of foreign language will invariably meet these attitudes in one form or another when dealing with Japanese learners. Cultural silence is like a double-edged sword. If not properly handled by the teacher, it may give rise to affective reactions which hinder progress, and may eventually destroy the teaching relationship. Cultural silence, if correctly employed, can greatly reinforce and strengthen the impact of the learning experiences on the students. Each cultural attitude will be explained in a

double way, both as an affective bind which hinders progress and as a challenge to the teacher of foreign language. The challenge consists of a creative task which must be accomplished if we are to hope for progress in foreign language acquisition. The five attitudes will be discussed under the following headings: First, the aesthetics of silence; second, alienation and identification; third, lack of confidence in contracts; fourth, lack of confidence in language; fifth, the problem of leadership.

First, a cluster of attitudes called the "aesthetics of silence" makes a virtue out of reticence and a vulgarity of verbalization or open expression of one's inner thoughts. This attitude can be traced to the Zen Buddhist idea that man is capable of arriving at the highest level of contemplative being only when he makes no attempt at verbalizations and discounts oral expression as the height of superficiality (Kunihiro, 1974b: 13 & 14). This attitude presents difficulties enough to a teacher of conversation, but it is even reinforced by a taboo of speaking out of place before a person who is higher in the social hierarchy (Kunihiro, 1974b: 12). For example, Japanese are usually reticent and anxious in the presence of a teacher or a native speaker of English. If the teacher is unaware or disrespectful of this attitude, Japanese students may resist his efforts to establish group discussion in the class. The creative task for the teacher is to present learning experiences through which Japanese students can learn to handle their anxiety and speak English in the presence of a teacher or native speaker of English.

Alienation and Identification. Japanese attitudes toward language are connected with problems of alienation and identification with one's peer group. Japanese groups look for complete consensus of feeling before taking a course of action. It is difficult for them to act with one segment of the group disagreeing (Kunihiro, 1974b: 8). Expressing one's own inner thoughts is restrained not only to avoid hurt feelings but also for the strong fear that by opening one's heart with full candor, one might become isolated from the group to which one belongs. Kunihiro (1974a: 20) has written as follows:

> Here in Japan on the whole, meaningful communication or oral communication in particular is restricted to one's in-group; family, close friends or high school chums .... It is extremely difficult for the fresh entrant into a company to engage himself in a free tete-a-tete with the president of his corporation, for example. If we use the term 'in-group' rather extensively, we can say that meaningful conversation is restricted more or less to one's ingroup.

The second task of the teacher, therefore, is to present a variety of learning experiences which allow interaction in peer groups which are like in-groups. Interaction in such small groups will provide the students a chance to identify with English as a language of personal communication with other.

Lack of Confidence in Contracts. Contempt for language can also be seen in the attitude of even the most progressive companies toward contracts (Kunihiro, 1974b: 11). It is still quite common to have unwritten contracts between large manufacturers and trading firms; often, contracts seem to exist only for the purpose of specifying stipulations that are exceptions to the rule. Contracts often contain escape clauses which allow further negotiations as the basis for relationships between companies. "The contract is just a lot of words," according to Kunihiro (1974b: 15); "the reality exists somewhere apart from it." Japanese attitudes toward contracts will affect the learning contract between the teacher and students in the classroom. If Japanese students are not given a chance to review the learning contract, the teacher may be faced with increasing resistance to learning from the students. The third task of the teacher is to establish confidence in a learning contract, to be explained later, as the basis of acquiring ability in foreign language.

Lack of Confidence in Language. Japanese place comparatively light emphasis on overt linguistic expression (Kunihiro, 1976: 270). The foreign teacher who expects to base his conversation class on lively clash of ideas in debate may be in for trouble. Language in Japan has only been a way of casually throwing the other guy a ball in order to get a reaction from him on which to base one's next action (Kunihiro, 1974b: 11). Therefore, the fourth task of the teacher is to establish confidence in language as a vehicle of communicating ideas. Kunihiro (1974a: 22) has strongly emphasized

this point in the following ways:

> I think it is indispensible that at the very outset you should try to regain, restore, create, or generate, no matter how you put it, confidence in language as a vehicle for communication and this is particularly important in our case because we traditionally have not held language in very high esteem.
>
> This may sound a bit sermonizing but this realization is the most important ingredient in any formal or informal training program in the attainment of a better command of any language, particularly of any western language, English included.
>
> I would like to pointedly emphasize the importance of this psychological tuning, for want of a better term, to the utility of language as a vehicle for communication.

The Problem of Leadership. The leader in Japanese society is a silent person. This attitude may present difficulties to a teacher who expects to develop leadership in his conversation class. An American leader is an articulate person. But one qualification for being a "big shot" in Japan is silence – to say very little and with complete lack of eloquence (Kunihiro, 1976: 272). Those who consider their positions worthy of respect, scorn verbal argument as silly, an indulgence for immature school boys. Such a person leaves verbal communication to his subordinates, muttering only a significant word or two at the appropriate time (Kunihiro, 1974b: 15). The fifth task of the teacher is to exploit the cultural attitude toward silence. In the course of communicating knowledge of English, the teacher should be willing to change from an active participant to a silent role at many levels of the group interaction. This is a learning task for the teacher. He should learn to use cultural silence itself for the development of leadership among his students. The fifth task is the main point of this address. It is my hope that this task will become clearer during the course of this explanation.

THE INTERPERSONAL DYNAMICS OF CLL

CLL is a supportive language learning contract which consists of group experience and reflection. Several key elements of this definition will be explained in this section: first, CLL is supportive

learning, but supportive in a special sense; second, CLL is contract learning; third, CLL is language learning; fourth, CLL is group reflection.

Supportive Learning. For Curran, learning is persons and occurs in a "space" between the knower and the learners. Supportive learning derives from the way "learner space" (Curran, 1972: 91-96) is used by the teacher. Because of the knower's greater knowledge and other differences such as age, life experience, nationality, culture, personality characteristics, and so on, there exists a distance or space between himself and the learners. According to Curran (1972: 91), this space is necessary if one person is to learn from another. In English classes as we know them, the action of the teacher fills the learner space completely. The learning occurs on a single interpersonal dimension between the teacher and the whole class. The evaluation is handled by the teacher in the form of tests and examinations. This kind of education can be called "teacher-centered." By way of contrast, the task of the CLL teacher is to build many more communication bridges across the learner space on three basic interpersonal dimensions. In common with teacher-centered methods, the first dimension is between the teacher and the whole group. However, the CLL teacher does not monopolize the learner space, especially in the case of a conversation experience. He states the purpose and the time-limit for the English conversation and then he waits for the reaction of the students in silence. Rather than impose his own ideas, the CLL teacher supports the efforts of the students to build a conversation. The second interpersonal dimension is between the teacher and each individual in the class. In classes of large size, it is extremely difficult for the teacher to work with individuals. In the next section, I hope to show how the CLL teacher can set up conversation experiences with individuals even in large classes. The English conversation experience was derived from Japanese culture. Besides the interpersonal distance between the teacher and students, there exists a space among the students themselves. Differences and variation in the behavior of the students among themselves can be bridged by small group activity. The teacher withdraws from the interpersonal dynamics of the class in total silence. The learner

space is filled by the students who reduce the interpersonal distance by exchanging and sharing information in a supportive way. The CLL teacher reinforces the small group learning activity by his supportive silence. In the Japanese case with CLL, an understanding of learner space is especially important. Given the supportive space, Japanese learners do not fail to react according to the learning norms of their culture. If the foreign teacher listens carefully, Japanese students will present suggestions for very powerful types of learning experiences based on Japanese culture itself. All of the examples of CLL group learning experiences to be presented in the next section are derived from Japanese culture.

Learner space is used in another supportive way. CLL group conversation experiences are time-limited. The time limit frames the learner space within the bounds of a contract agreement. This reduces the anxiety in the interpersonal dynamics of the class. Because they can accept a time-limited experience with less anxiety, the learning activity is placed closer to the grasp of the students.

Contract Learning. CLL is group learning, but not merely group learning. Curran (1972; 30) purposely adopted the term "Community" as opposed to "Group" language learning. A group is composed of a number of people engaged in a common task. A community, according to Curran (1976: 50 & 51), is formed around a "contract." The existence of an interpersonal contract differentiates community language learning from group language learning. A contract is an agreement by a number of individuals to engage in a common task for the purpose of achieving some goal. Besides group task and numbers of individuals, the concept of a contract includes interaction, role, and dedication. The CLL learning interaction takes place on three basic social dimensions of the learner space. Three kinds of group learning experiences can be set up; first, between the teacher and the whole group, second, between the teacher and individuals, and third, among the students themselves. Community also means change of roles. The CLL teacher operates on a dynamic interpersonal continuum from activity with the whole group, to partial, and even total silence by allowing the learning to occur in small groups. In a flexible way, the teacher can change roles and implement any of the three kinds of

group experiences over the course of a semester in order to meet the changing needs of the students. Stevick (1976: 126) says that the role of the students also changes as they gain confidence and become more independent. Lastly, community means dedication. At any point in the life of the community, the contract is subject to review during a period of reflection. The CLL contract consists of both group experience and group reflection. The dedication of individuals to the task, the amount and quality of the English spoken can be evaluated by the teacher and students together. The existence of a reflection period as part of the contract differentiates CLL in a unique way from mere group learning. Yet, as the Japanese case with CLL shows, group experiences derived from Japanese culture can be made extremely effective if presented in the form of CLL contracts. Examples will be presented in the following section.

Language Learning. CLL is language learning. According to Curran (1972: 128-141; 1976: 28 & 29), the learner develops in the language through a five stage growth process. Just as human growth is accompanied by affective binds and conflicts, development in the new language is not without struggle to resolve them at each stage. Conflicts, which are affective binds, are signs of growth in language. When they appear, they must be handled with care. With the solution of each affective bind or conflict, the passage of the student from childhood through adolescence to adulthood becomes apparent from the increasing ability of the student to handle the foreign language in a variety of interpersonal situations. Stage I, the "Embryonic Stage," is the birth of the learner into the new language. The birth stage is characterized by an anxiety conflict. Stage II, the "Self-Assertion Stage," is compared to childhood when the learner is first beginning to walk in the new language. The conflict centers upon achieving identity as a speaker of the new language. In Stage III, the "Independent Stage," the learner has gained a measure of ability in the new language. Use of the native language drops off gradually as the learner becomes more able to handle the foreign language by himself. Stage III is accompanied by an adolescent crisis, a drive for complete independence from the teacher. If the learner is to achieve greater refinement, he must

begin to make room for the teacher in the learner space. If the conflict is not resolved, the teaching relationship will be prematurely terminated.

In the first three stages, the teacher has performed the role of understanding the students. However, if he is to communicate with the students, the roles have to be reversed. In Stage IV, the "Role Reversal Stage," the students must begin to exercise understanding for the helpful role of the teacher. Cultural silence greatly contributes to the solution of the role crisis, as will be shown later. Stage V is called the "Adult Stage." Theoretically, the learner knows all that the knower has to teach. However, the learner still has much to gain if he learns to share the responsible role of the teacher in promoting learning in the class. The conflict of Stage V involves the willingness of the students to accept responsibility for the class. Self-evaluation criteria, which are greatly reinforced by cultural silence, can be established for Stage V learners during CLL reflection periods.

Group Reflection. As Begin (1971: 120) has pointed out, students welcome the reflection period when they are given the opportunity to appraise the learning experience. It restores their natural balance which is often lost in the stress of speaking a new language. The reflection period is divided into two parts: first, a time of silence during which the students review the experience to discover its personal meaning; second, a period of group sharing by way of personal report. The silence of the first part of the period can not be underestimated in any way for its value and impact on progress in language learning. Far from being a vacuous period of time after the experience part of the class, the silence of the reflection period is characterized by intensive activity. The quality of the silence changes from threatening to contemplative. This is probably because of the influence of cultural silence and reflection, which are readily observable in Japanese society. My students are asked to write out their impressions of the experience in English. The composition of a brief report gives the individual a chance to formulate the English gains and losses of the day in a very concrete way. This serves to relieve the anxiety which accompanies a CLL experience. Furthermore, the students show increasing

ability to pass from a semigrammatical level of cognitive ability to a more appropriate and correct usage of English grammar.

USES OF CULTURAL SILENCE IN THE INTERPERSONAL DYNAMICS OF CLL

CLL Contracts. The purpose of this section is to show how the five tasks described in the beginning of the paper are carried out in a CLL community. In the previous description of CLL, we saw that CLL is a learning contract which consists of both group experience and reflection. In this section, we will describe learning contracts which are tailored to meet the needs of Japanese students at the different CLL stages. The contracts are dynamic in the sense that changes occur in the role of the teacher, among the students at different stages of CLL learning, and in the contracts themselves. For instance, at Stage I and Stage IV, the contracts are the same but the reaction of the students is different. Because the needs of the students are similar, contracts at Stages II and III are treated together. The role of the teacher changes as he operates on different interpersonal dimensions of the CLL community. Some of the contracts call for an active teacher; others call for a more silent role for the teacher.

A Contract at Stage I. A contract at Stage I consists of the experience of silence and its reflection period. Because of the high value placed on silence, Japanese are not unaccustomed to membership in a group of silent people. The experience of silence can be placed in the time-limited setting of a CLL short term counseling session (Curran, 1972: 5). The experience of silence is an effective way of establishing the social dimension of community between the teacher and the whole group. The time limit is especially important, because the students will think the sudden silence means that the teacher is displeased or angry. In a short term counseling session, the purpose of the activity is clearly stated along with the time limit: "We will now have a ten-minute period of free English conversation. You may address anyone in the class about any subject." The teacher awaits the reaction of the students in silence. He introduces no topic nor does he do any questioning in order to

get the activity started.

Reflection after the Experience of Silence. The experience of silence is characterized by both anxiety and long periods when none or only a few students speak English. During the reflection period afterwards, reference to the unpleasant silence occurs in almost every report of the students. The reason for the silence relates to the basic motivation of the student and his performance during the experience period. A common reason is expressed as follows: "I was silent because I was afraid." The teacher can clarify the ambiguity in the motivation of the student. On the one hand, the student desires the chance for free conversation in English, for this is the goal of the group. On the other hand, when the chance is given, anxiety prevents the exercise of free English speaking. The harmful effects of anxiety become clearly identified and remedies can be suggested for students struggling in CLL Stage I. Sharing the anxiety is one way of diminishing its effects. A second way is to appeal to students for mutual self-help. Anxiety should be made the object of a common struggle by the whole class. The silence can be broken with a simple question to anyone in the group. Japanese students are surprised to find that it is not necessary to say something deep and difficult in a foreign language.

Contracts at Stages II and III: Small Peer Groups (Nakama).

The experience of silence is painful, but necessary for students who need to learn how to explore an English speaking relationship. The teacher can reduce the pain by temporarily withdrawing from the class activity in silence. He can permit the learning to occur among the students in small peer groups called "Nakama." At Stage II, the class can be divided into groups of five or six students for a CLL exercise called "Self-Introduction." This gives the Japanese learner a chance to establish his English speaking self-identity in his peer group. After preparation time in the small group, each student presents his self-introduction to the whole class in English. This gives the student a chance to identify with English as a means of self-expression. The self-introductions can be tape-recorded, corrected, and played back with great advance in self-confidence.

After the self-introduction exercise has been completed, the teacher has two options. He can return to the contract at Stage I to

see if the level of anxiety has decreased. This is a way of testing whether or not the first task, namely the solution of the affective bind of anxiety, has been accomplished. A second option is to proceed with task number two and allow English to become a language of personal communication for the students. A small group activity such as the Japanese Paper Drama (Kamishibai) is very helpful for this purpose. Stage II and Stage III learners profit very much from the exercise of the English which they have already mastered. Each small group is given the task of composing and presenting a Japanese paper drama in English. The themes are decided by the group and composed in English. Then the students are given art materials which they need for the production of their drama. When finished, they are presented to the whole class with dialogue in English, music, the use of puppets, and drums. The class presentation takes the form and atmosphere of a Japanese temple festival, called the "Paper Drama Festival" (Kamishibai Matsuri).

Reflection after Peer Group Activity. During the course of small group activity, problems begin to appear in connection with the silence of the teacher. The students are free from the anxiety caused by the presence of the teacher. They are able to use the English which they have learned. However, it is difficult for them to learn and retain new expressions. No one corrects their many mistakes. Worse still, unmotivated students confess during the reflection periods that the presence of the teacher is needed to stimulate conversation in English and not Japanese. Through responsible choices during reflection periods, the students come to the honest realization that contact with the teacher has to be reestablished even at some cost in effort. Otherwise, as one student remarked, the class degenerates into a picnic with no learning at all. These realizations gained through reflection help the students to gain confidence in the learning contract with the teacher as a means of learning English.

Cultural Silence and Role Reversal. At this point, the students in Stage III showed much more confidence in accepting the experience of silence. First, the silence was replaced completely by lively active conversation, even though the English was semi-grammatical. Secondly, the responsibility for developing the topic of a conversa-

tion was accepted by the students. As they approached Stage IV, they had achieved such a measure of confidence that their mistakes could be corrected publicly in the group without interrupting the flow of conversation. Thirdly, as a teacher, I found myself on the edge of the conversation in an active role speaking Japanese. While the students were busy with the topic of an English conversation, I was giving the explanations and the directions necessary for speaking correct English, but in Japanese. As a native speaker of English, my Japanese speaking role during the group conversation stood in strong contrast to the native speakers of Japanese who had adopted a totally English speaking role. The role conflict of Stage IV was resolved through the switch. Seemingly, the silence of the native speaker in his English speaking role constituted an encouragement for the adoption of their English speaking role by the Japanese students. Apparently, the dynamic role silence also had the added effect of communicating confidence in English as a means of exchanging ideas among Japanese themselves. If so, then cultural silence greatly contributed to the accomplishment of task number four, the establishment of confidence ir. English language as a vehicle of communication.

A Stage V Contract. English conversation between a native speaking teacher and each individual in the class is extremely difficult to establish, especially if the class is large. When the teacher begins to deal with individuals, he loses contact with the whole group. This introduces ambiguity into the interpersonal dynamics of the class. One result, among others, is a rapid increase in anxiety which can not be tolerated for long either by the students or by the teacher. In the CLL class, the ambiguity is resolved by the learning contract. By prior agreement, each student is given the same chance for a brief conversation with the teacher. The whole class is divided into pairs for short English conversations. Each member of the class and the teacher receive a new conversation partner every three minutes. Even in classes of large size (35 to 50 studens), the speaking activity, which is called the "Face-to-Face Group," can be prolonged for forty-five minutes with great profit.

There are two reasons why the face-to-face group seems so effective. First, the CLL contract makes the use of partial silence

available to the teacher. Partial silence occurs when the teacher is silent in his relationship to the whole group, but active in dealing with each individual. The affective bind, especially in the case of Stage V learners, is connected with the willingness of the student to accept responsibility for a one-to-one English speaking relationship with the teacher and each of his peers. At the same time, this is the kind of leadership we should attempt to cultivate in our classrooms.

Secondly, the face-to-face group experience was derived from Japanese culture. In the Japanese Judo hall, members are paired off in two long lines for feinting practice (Uchikomi) or a brief wrestling session (Randori). The point of each encounter is to become strong in a single tactic or to grapple with a strong opponent for a short time (three minutes). In this way, the strong become stronger and the weak members are not overwhelmed. The face-to-face group can be introduced in the same way. The common struggle in the CLL class is with English conversation. Mutual help and support is needed so that each member of the class will become a leader, that is, fluent in speaking one hundred percent English. In order to achieve this goal, each member of the class and the teacher will receive a new English conversation partner every three minutes.

Reflection after a Contract at Stage V. The teacher has an easy time with the student in immediate contact, but how can the amount of English spoken by the other students be evaluated? Evaluation itself can be built into the reflection period through the use of partial silence. The teacher may ask the students to reply to two points in their self reports. First, state in percentage the amount of Japanese and the amount of English which you used with your partner. Second, did you give and receive support from your partner during the face-to-face group experience? The teacher waits in silence (about ten minutes) for the students to formulate their reports. In reply to the first point, students claim thirty to forty percent English usage on first attempt. Due to the restrictive nature of Japanese politeness on boasting of one's accomplishments in public, the percentage was probably much higher. However, the teacher can break his silence to urge a better shot next time. In place of a scolding or an examination or test, the teacher has set a higher goal for the students. In reply to the second question,

students were practically unaminous in stating that they were able to form a greater number of positive relationships in the CLL class than in classes based on other methods of teaching English conversation. These English speaking relationships were carried on among the students even after the classes were finished.

CONCLUSION: AN APPEAL TO ENGLISH TEACHERS

At the beginning of this paper, I spoke of English education as an interpersonal process. Five typical Japanese attitudes toward verbal communication and silence were explained in part one. The interpersonal dynamics of CLL were explained in part two. Use of cultural silence to resolve affective binds and promote English speaking ability formed the subject of part three. I would like to address an appeal to all English teachers to become more sensitive to the interpersonal dynamics of their classes. Foreign teachers of English need to become more aware of the sensitive elements of Japanese culture such as silence. Learning experiences based on Japanese culture such as the experience of silence, self-introduction, the paper drama, the face-to-face group and other kinds of activities, can be used to create more effective modes of communication in English conversation classes. I would also like to address an appeal to Japanese teachers of English to create new criteria for evaluation besides tests and examinations. These leave the students frustrated and eventually defeat English learning. Perhaps the new criteria could be based on reflective self-evaluation.

REFERENCES

1. Begin, Y., *Evaluative and Emotional Factors in Learning a Foreign Language.* Montreal: Desclee & Cie (Bellarmin), 1971.
2. Curran, C.A., *Counseling-Learning: A Whole-Person Model for Education.* New York: Grune & Stratton, 1972.
3. Curran, C.A., *Counseling-Learning in Second Languages.* Apple River, Illinois: Apple River Press, 1976.
4. Kunihiro, M., "An Elephant in an Antique Shop." *Nucleus,* 27 (1974a), 13-28.
5. Kunihiro, M., "Indigenous Barriers to Communication." *The Wheel Extended,* 3 (1974b), 11-17.
6. Kunihiro, M., "Japanese Language and Intercultural Communication." *The Japan Interpreter,* 10 (1976), 267-283.
7. Stevick, E., *Memory, Meaning, and Method: Some Psychological Perspectives on Language Learning.* Rowley, Massachusetts: Newbury House Publishers, 1976.

Teaching English to Japanese Businessmen

*Janet Thomas**

"Teaching English to Businessmen" was the title of the Kanto Association of Language Teachers' (KALT)[1] first anniversary presentation which took place in Tokyo on February 18 and 19, 1978. The aim of the workshop was stated as follows:

> To measure the adequacy and effectiveness of current language programs and curricula and to suggest methods for their improvement.[2]

The first day of the conference featured panel discussions with Japanese personnel and training managers, businessmen who had previously been students in an intensive English program, and international businessmen who had to deal with English language-related

---

*Janet Thomas majored in Spanish at Occidental College in Los Angeles and holds a Master's degree in Spanish from New York University. She taught ESL in Spain and Portugal for two years and has been teaching at LIOJ the past year.

[1] For information about KALT activities or membership in the organization contact David Bycina, KALT Co-ordinator, Lila House 2F, 2-5-28 Kita-Shinjuku, Shinjuku-ku, Tokyo.

[2] This quote and all others in the paper are from the program of "Teaching English to Businessmen," the First Anniversary Presentation of the KANTO Association of Language Teachers on February 18-19, 1978.

problems in the Japanese business world. The second day of the program included discussions with English instructors, curriculum specialists and publishers' representatives.

I was particularly interested in attending this conference, hoping to gain some valuable insights about the process of learning English by Japanese businessmen. I had previously taught English to Spanish and Portuguese businessmen and had some knowledge of the difficulties which businessmen face when tackling the study of the English language. Such difficulties included basic structural translations made from the student's native language in addition to the student's general lack of confidence in his own ability to speak and understand the English language. At the Language Institute of Japan (LIOJ) where I am presently working, I have once again encountered these problems as an English teacher of Japanese businessmen. At the "Teaching English to Businessmen" workshop I hoped to gain more perspective on the issue and get new ideas about possible teaching methods and philosophies which I could utilize in order to minimize these language-learning difficulties and to facilitate the English-learning process of the Japanese businessman.

In this article I would like to focus on the comments made during the three panel discussions on Saturday, February 18 that could be of great interest and use to the English language teacher of Japanese businessmen. I found the three panel discussions to be very valuable in dealing with how the curricula of an English course can be made more suitable to the needs of Japanese businessmen. In addition, I was able to 1) obtain feedback from students concerning their needs and expectations of an English course for businessmen, 2) get helpful suggestions with regard to classroom work, and 3) be provided with interesting lessons concerning cultural differences especially in the context of business situations. The ideas outlined in this article are not necessarily in chronological order nor in order of importance. For practical purposes, I will present the information as a group response rather than individual answers of the panel members. Therefore, in some cases, there will be conflicting or overlapping opinions due to different points of view or opinions of the panel participants.

MANAGER'S PANEL

Mr. David Hough, Moderator
Course Director, Language Study Center, NEC

Mr. Y. Ono
Personnel Development Branch Manager, Mitsubishi Shoji

Mr. T. Sasaki
Ministry of Finance

Mr. K. Takubo
General Manager, Language Study Center, NEC

Mr. T. Torigoe
First personnel Section Manager, Dai-Ichi Kangyo Bank

Mr. H. Umezu
Manager, Manpower Resources and Development Department, Mobil Sekiyu K.K.

The objective of the first panel discussion, the Managers' Panel was:

> To examine the kinds of English language programs Japanese companies and government agencies have for their employees. To examine the purpose for these programs and the expectations that managers have of their employees, the instructors, and the curricula. To obtain feedback from the managers as to how English language training can be made more suitable and effective.

The information from this panel discussion might be useful to the English teacher of Japanese businessmen, especially since it is extremely difficult to get feedback or information from the English student's employer.

1. What is important when selecting an English teacher?
   a. experience and educational background
   b. motivation
   c. stability (that the teacher will stay in Japan for at least three to five years)
   d. creativity
   e. understanding cultural differences
   f. basic understanding of Japanese education (i.e. that it is dominated by the teacher)
   g. varied backgrounds (having teachers from different geographical locations and of different interests)
   h. ability to react to situations within the Western mode of

thinking, and not being so directly influenced by the Japanese way

2. What is important to learn at English teaching institutes for Japanese businessmen?
   a. breaking the fear of talking to foreigners
   b. knowing their own culture and becoming aware of cultural differences
   c. gaining confidence
   d. learning communicative skills
   e. improving English skills in business situations

3. What are the students' weakest areas?
   a. speaking and understanding
   b. grammar (they know it, but don't use it correctly)
   c. listening comprehension (understanding 80% in business is not enough)
   d. lack of self-confidence
   e. making informal conversation (i.e. during meals)

4. What feedback do the Managers want from teachers about businessmen who are students of English?
   a. quantity of production (How much did the student write and speak?)
   b. degree of business communication ability in English
   c. activeness (How much did he participate?)
   d. cultural adaptability (Can the student adapt to foreign situations?)

STUDENTS' PANEL

Mr. George Pifer, Moderator
Curriculum Committee Chairman, Japan-American Conversation Institute

Mr. Kimura
Honda Motors

Mr. Maruo
Kobe Steel Company

Mr. Murata
Yasuda Fire Insurance Company

Mr. Ohashi
Tax Office

Mr. Sasahara
Mitsubishi Bank

After the Managers' Panel, the conference continued with five businessmen who had recently attended intensive English training courses for Japanese businessmen. The objectives of this panel were stated as follows:

> To examine student language-learning goals and expectations and, in the light of them, the strengths and weaknesses of current programs. To consider student attitudes toward program length, teachers, and curricula. To compare ways in which students use English with the kinds of training they receive.

Some of the questions and comments made during the Students' Panel were as follows:

1. English teachers should
   a. be enthusiastic
   b. have business experience
   c. participate in lessons
   d. correct English mistakes
   e. have respect for Japanese culture

2. What was helpful in English training for Japanese businessmen?
   a. student-oriented activities (with less teacher participation)
   b. preparation of topics for discussion by students
   c. corrections made by the teacher after student-led discussions
   d. "what to do" practice in specific situations (i.e. when honorifics were used in Japanese, what was said in English?)
   e. pronunciation drills (to be as close as possible to that of native speakers)
   f. practical activities to improve ability to communicate clearly and accurately in business situations (such as to avoid problems in misunderstanding of destination or payment

terms)

3. What advice would be helpful to English teachers when teaching Japanese businessmen?
   a. importance of students' building of confidence (exercises such as being chairperson are helpful)
   b. the teacher must be careful with accent, not using a regional American English or King's English but a more neutral accent
   c. the problem of students trying to break the stereotyped image of women teachers, especially in business courses
   d. more difficult for Japanese to learn English than for Europeans (traumatizing experiences of learning English in Japan, less contact with foreigners in Japan, far more dubbing of American movies than in Europe).

4. What are some of the difficulties Japanese students face in learning English?
   a. Japanese won't say something because they are more concerned with making a beautifully-phrased sentence than with communication.
   b. Japanese have the tendency not to speak or express their own opinions. Students should be taught to lead conversations or informal lunchtime conversations.
   c. Japanese don't want to embarrass themselves. They have to acknowledge that in the language-learning process, it is not a deadly sin to embarrass oneself.
   d. Syntax problems are frequent due to the different structure of the Japanese language.
   e. There is a lack of clarity in the Japanese language and English tends to be more precise.

5. What are some business difficulties for Japanese businessmen when learning English?
   a. At Japanese business meetings often nothing is decided. American clear-cut agendas of the order of business are sometimes offensive to Japanese businessmen.
   b. The whole range of situations such as introductions, cocktail

conversation, etc., in English are difficult for Japanese from a cultural standpoint.

c. There are specialized vocabulary words in English that are used in business, such as, *What is the impact on your capacity?* that would not be understood but could be rephrased and better understood by a Japanese businessman as *How does that affect the overall production of your plant?*
d. Before the War, British English was taught in Japan. It is sometimes difficult for Japanese businessmen to make adjustments between British English and American English. Furthermore, now there is a difference between "Business English" and "Business American."
e. How does business English overlap conversational English? (What vocabulary should be used in the office?)

INTERNATIONAL BUSINESSMEN'S PANEL

Mr. Winston Priest, Moderator
Manager, Time-Life Educational Systems, Inc.

Mr. William Hall
ASI Market Research, Inc.

Mr. Jean-Pierre Molon
Dowell-Schlumberger, Inc.

Mr. Lee Rigney
Citibank N.A.

Mr. Keisuke Yawata
NEC, International Electron Devices Division

Mr. Mark Zimmerman
Winthrop Laboratories

Mr. James Smith
Oxford University Press

The final panel discussion provided a different point of view: that of the international businessmen. The goals of the International Businessmen's Panel discussion were as follows:

> To examine how the English learned in the classroom is applied in the business world. To consider language-related problems encountered by international businessmen when dealing with Japanese. To open the way for a discussion on how English programs for Japanese can better meet the actual needs.

The discussion of the international businessmen mainly centered around the problems and examples of business situations (in English) that were affected adversely by miscommunication–either due to linguistic or cultural misunderstandings. Quite a few very humorous stories were related, including one about the time a Japan-bound delivery was late from an Illinois-based company due to heavy snow conditions at the Chicago airport. When the Japanese company telexed, "Where's our order?", the U.S. company responded, "Don't you realize what weather we're having here?" The answer from the Japanese side was even more frantic, repeating the original question "But where's our order???" The most useful points discussed by the International Businessmen's Panel can be summarized as follows:

1. The Japanese thinking process is quite different. More repetition is needed to make sure that information has been thoroughly understood.
2. It is extremely difficult to know whether Japanese are really understanding everything said and if they are in agreement.
3. It is preferable to write everything in a diagram such as A – B – C – D – etc. Japanese can understand things better if the subject matter is presented visually rather than orally.

The February meeting of the Kanto Association of Language Teachers proved to be a very useful source of information for any teacher who is involved in English instruction to Japanese businessmen. The Saturday, February 18 meeting provided three varied perspectives which gave the English teacher a better understanding of how English training can be made more suitable and effective for the Japanese businessman.

EFL in Japanese Industry: Activities, Problems, and Solutions

*Kohei Takubo**

In recent years, Nippon Electric has had a marked increase in international involvement with business relations in more than 100 countries throughout the world. Since the Japanese language has a completely different structure, it takes a long time for Japanese to learn English. Therefore, management emphasis has been laid on the improvement of the English speaking skills of our employees, which are generally neglected in school education in Japan. NEC's experience has shown that foreign language training has had an important bearing on international business (for more explanation about NEC, see Appendix A).

WHERE OUR PROBLEMS ARISE

The majority of the employees in Japanese industry stay with their first employer for life. Therefore, the source of new employees is mostly from new graduates of schools. They develop their business capability through job experience in industry. The

*Kohei Takubo, General Manager, Language Study Center, Nippon Electric Co., Ltd., has worked with NEC as accountant, interpreter for management, editor of NEC Annual Report, and English instructor for in-service language programs for thirty years. He was granted a Fulbright Scholarship for graduate study in Wharton School, University of Pennsylvania in 1958-1959.

management has gone to considerable expense for in-service education and training of the employees.

From the standpoint of language training, most of the high school graduates learn English for six years in their junior and senior high schools. They learn grammar and translation skills for the entrance examinations of the universities. In our research on reading and speaking skills of the employees, we found that the population of "good" in reading skills in English was six times greater than that of "good" in speaking skills.

In our survey of the student attitude in the class, we found specific reactions towards the opposite sex and work positions of the students in industry. Female students were quiet in class but were active in contacting instructors after class. Most students reserve their speech in case they find that some supervisors are among the class members. In the first week of the English class, major efforts of instructors are directed at how to relax the class members. The personality of the class members has much to do with the success of training programs.

INTERNATIONAL INVOLVEMENT

NEC began technical exchanges with overseas companies and laboratories in the early 1950's. Since then NEC has established overseas production facilities and sales offices in more than thirty major cities throughout the world. NEC is also active in exporting its electronics and telecommunications equipment. Along with this, our participation in telecommunication construction projects has increased significantly in the overseas market in the last ten years. The number of employees who have been sent abroad has risen from 500 in 1965 to 1400 in 1970 to 2400 in 1976.

Our recent survey on the overseas involvement of our employees revealed that an average of 176 out of every 1000 male employees have been abroad on business in the past. From further analysis, it was found that the overseas experience of our people increased in proportion to the length of service years with NEC, that is, 320 out of every 1000 for those who were with NEC for 6 to 10 years, 570 for 11 to 15 years, and 780 for 16 to 20 years (see Figure 1).

International Involvement of NEC Employees

Educational Level	Years of Service with NEC			
	1–5	6–10	11–15	16–20
University	7%	32%	57%	78%
Two Year College	6	27	45	51
High School	3	11	16	25
Junior High School	1	7	11	11
Average	6	20	24	31

Figure 1

REQUIREMENT FOR LANGUAGE TRAINING

With NEC's increasing emphasis on overseas business, more NEC people will gain overseas experience in the future. NEC is a heavily engineering-oriented enterprise with more than 80 percent of its male employees having technical and engineering capabilities. Regardless of their background, it naturally follows that any enterprise which expands its business overseas must help its employees gain proficiency in foreign languages.

Our problem is determining how many of our people sent abroad are proficient enough in foreign languages, particularly in English, to communicate with their overseas counterparts. Based on self-evaluation reports of employees to the management, a survey of language skills was conducted. About 7400 or 40 percent of the male employees of the parent company claimed that they are capable of speaking foreign languages. About 87 percent of these people are proficient in English, followed by those who are proficient in Spanish, German, French and Portuguese.

The following table (see Figure 2) shows the language speaking skills of 18,500 of our male employees:

Language Speaking Population (based on Self-evaluation Report)

Foreign Language	Good	Fair	Total
English	618	5,902	6,520
Spanish	36	194	230
German	8	264	272
French	5	104	109
Portuguese	10	103	113
Chinese	3	53	56
Russian	1	22	23
Persian	1	27	28
Indonesian	1	21	22
Korean	0	11	11
Others	3	42	45
Total	686	6,743	7,429

Figure 2

Those who claimed "good" in English speaking skills accounted for 9.4 percent of the English speaking population.

We compared this percentage with the results of the in-service spoken English skill testing program which is extensively used as the basis of our language training programs. According to the rating, English speaking proficiency levels of the NEC language population are determined as follows (see Appendix B for explanation of ratings):

English speaking proficiency level	Level 0.8 or less	Level 0.9–1.8	Level 1.9–2.4	Level 2.5 or above
Dispersion Ratio	28%	47%	17%	8%

Figure 3

Those who are rated as level S2.5 or above accounted for 8 percent, which can be compared to 9.4 percent who assigned themselves to be at the "good" level in speaking English in the self-

evaluation report. Our problem is that the majority of our people are in the range of the level S0.9–1.8. In-service training programs are directed to improve the speaking level of our people to the level S2.0.

LANGUAGE PROFICIENCY TEST PROGRAM

The NEC language proficiency test was instituted in 1974 to set a goal for each of our people regarding the language level they should reach. In introducing the language skill rating as the in-service rating system, we decided that this should be a language skills diagnostic system like the bi-annual medical check-up for all employees the company clinic conducts.

The language proficiency rating system adopted by NEC has a rating scale similar to the U.S. Peace Corps language test program (see Appendix B). Unlike academic grades, which measure achievement in mastering the contents of a prescribed course, the S-rating for speaking proficiency is based on the absolute criterion of the command of an educated native speaker of his own language.

The language proficiency test results are registered in the personnel record file as a part of the personal history of the employees. Management has been authorized to select people for overseas assignments and as sales representatives using the language skill rating system as one of the determining factors.

The language proficiency test is designed to be the basis of the language training program and it has been a strong motivating factor for people undergoing language training.

IN-SERVICE LANGUAGE TRAINING PROGRAMS

The following are the major language training programs underway at NEC.

1) Intensive English Training Program

Selected people among many applicants recommended by their their supervisors participate in the intensive English training program for four weeks while living at the Training Center. They

are trained mainly in speaking skills during the course. There are 24 courses in one year in which about 300 people participate. Most of the people are those who work for overseas marketing and on equipment installation jobs, those who will take new posts in overseas offices, those who are destined to be sent abroad to enroll in graduate courses of overseas universities, or those who read papers at international conferences.

The curriculum is worked out to include such items as an outline of NEC activities, an introduction of oneself and one's job, Japanese culture, and study of intercultural problems. Instructors are all native speakers.

The Dale Carnegie Course in English is offered as an in-service program to graduates of the intensive course as an advanced program.

2) Technical English Writing Course

The number of engineers and technicians in the field of inspection, maintenance and local installation who are sent abroad is increasing rapidly as the export of telecommunication projects expands. These engineers and technicians are often requested by local customers to explain technical details and to develop maintenance manuals in English. In the field of research and development, they have to write technical papers to be presented to international conferences. Construction plans for overseas factories have to be written in English by manufacturing engineers.

Twenty-four courses in technical writing are open to those engineers and technicians in the field of telecommunication, electronics, production control and computers. Classes are three hours each and held twice a week making a total of 84 hours. There are about 300 participants per year and native speakers with engineering backgrounds are in charge of the courses.

Saturday training programs for managers were offered in October, 1976. About 200 managers applied for the six-Saturday, 36-hour course.

3) Self-development English Training Courses at Factory Locations

At five major factory locations, about 30 English training courses

are held after work hours. 600 people are registered in the following courses for the 80-hour six-month seminar period.

(a) Pre-elementary course for those who are rated ±0.5
(b) Elementary course for those who are rated ±1.0
(c) Pre-intermediate course for those who are rated ±1.5

These courses were started in 1967 and more than 3,000 people have attended thus far. For those who are rated S1.5 or above, special courses are held, such as discussion meetings regarding management problems, accounting seminars concentrating on the Annual Reports of large corporations in the United States, and management discussions based on case studies.

4) Rehearsal of International Conferences

Many engineers are requested to present their papers to international symposiums. Some of them attend the symposiums to read their papers. We conduct seminars on how to use slides and address an English speaking audience.

5) International Club

International Club meetings are regularly held once a month on a Saturday afternoon (non-working day) where guest speakers are invited from the international community of Tokyo.

In addition to formal instruction, a variety of other foreign language activities are available. The transcript from recorded lectures at the NEC International Club is printed for distribution to the employees interested in English study. Several quarterly company newspapers are offered in English and Spanish. NEC Life, a bi-monthly company organ, carries a section of English lessons for the readers. "Hello NEC," an English conversation series, was published as a textbook for English training programs. Portuguese, Spanish, French, Chinese and Korean language courses are regularly held throughout the year.

MEASUREMENT OF THE EFFECT OF LANGUAGE TRAINING

A comparative study was made to show the difference in

language proficiency between new employees and those who have worked with NEC for a number of years. Following the custom of Japanese industry, new graduates from schools are hired to fill vacancies or to increase the work force in April and only a few people are usually hired during the year. Therefore, in-service training programs in Japanese industry are considered important to improve business capabilities.

In April 1975, NEC employed about 750 university graduates whose English skills were examined in a TOEFL type test. In October, the same test was administered to 350 employees who have been with NEC for a number of years. The analysis of the test results showed that long-time NEC employees did better than the new employees.

The following test results show the differences in basic English knowledge between new employees and long-time NEC employees (see Figure 4):

Test Results (100 points possible)	35–45	46–55	56–65	66 or above
New Employees	65%	22%	10%	3%
NEC Employees	49	22	18	11

Figure 4

Those who got 35 points or higher were invited to have their speaking skills evaluated by native speakers. The conversation between an interviewer and an examinee was recorded on tape and speaking skills were analyzed later with regard to pronunciation, structure and fluency. The test results were broken down according to the ratings and by the years of service of the employees as follows (see Figure 5):

Years of service	Speaking Skills Ratings		
	S0.1–S0.8	S0.9–S1.8	S1.9 or above
1– 3 years	30%	52%	18%
4– 6 years	25	51	24
7– 9 years	21	51	28
10–12 years	27	37	36
13–15 years	20	45	35
16–18 years	26	33	41
19–21 years	25	25	50

Figure 5

Our research also reveals that the number of employees involved with foreign languages (total of 16 different languages) has increased 25 percent when compared to December, 1975, and December, 1976. The increase in the English speaking population was 24 percent in one year.

Follow-up research was conducted in order to ascertain how language training affected the careers of the employees. We sent a questionnaire to those who attended the English intensive courses in 1972, '73 and '74. We received replies from 204 people. A survey shows that 70 percent of these people have had opportunities to use English in their jobs, and that 80 percent of them had been abroad on business within two years after they were trained in the intensive English courses. Twenty percent of those who attended the courses in 1972 and 1973 have been transferred to overseas related jobs such as overseas sales, overseas construction work and overseas supporting work.

SOME CULTURAL ASPECTS

When we first began our language courses the stress was almost entirely on sentence patterns, grammar, vocabulary and pronunciation. The students learned English, but they were neither comfortable using it nor were they able to use it effectively in typical Western situations. In addition, those students who were sent overseas often felt nervous because they were afraid of making

culturally-based mistakes and also felt that they had little to say outside their special technical areas.

Preparation of cultural material and techniques for using it was therefore a very special problem. The intensive courses became our experimental laboratory, so to speak. Various cultural topics such as prejudice, racial discrimination, equal rights, etc., were introduced for discussion and we were able to discover the students' blind spots. Careful notes were taken of the students' questions, misconceptions, topics generally not discussed in Japanese society, and situations that made students tense.

Let me give you a few items of our findings. First, the Japanese language and Japanese society tend to avoid direct confrontation; consequently, the ability to debate or forcefully express personal opinions is not well developed. For example, people find it easy to participate in group decisions but try to avoid expressing individual opinions. Second, because Japanese are a homogeneous people, there is not as much need to verbally express oneself as there is in the West. Third, there are many topics commonly discussed in the West such as religion, hobbies, family, etc., which are not discussed by Japanese. Many Japanese have given no thought to topics they might be confronted with in conversations with Westerners. And fourth, there are aspects of Japanese culture which are unique and very difficult to explain, such as traditional feelings toward elderly people or feelings of obligation. Very few Japanese attempt to explain them. Therefore, Japan, the Japanese, and Japanese business continue to be "The Mysterious East" for many Westerners.

Based on our findings in the intensive course, we introduced the necessary topics, organized "confrontation situations," presented very practical dialogues, encouraged the students to compare cultures and be prepared to explain Japanese culture, and tried to develop a total experience which would minimize future culture shock.

Communication is more than words and grammar: it is self-confidence; it is understanding why people say what they say; it is feeling "at home" with the second language; having something to say; and having respect for one's own culture as well as for the culture of the other person.

SUMMARY

From our experiences with the in-service language training programs for the past 4 years, we have concluded that language training programs should include, to a considerable extent, intercultural communication problems in addition to linguistic training. In the training course, the instructors and trainees have realized the lack of appreciation of their own cultures.

We still have a number of problems to solve, such as the test programs which need further refinement, curriculum development to meet the business requirements, and hiring of native speakers who will stay with NEC for several years. However, our investment in language training has worked as a strong support for promoting our international business activities.

Appendix A

Introduction to NEC

Nippon Electric, or NEC, is a manufacturer of diverse telecommunications equipment, computers, electronic devices, and consumer electronics products. To those from outside the industrial sector, the name "Nippon Electric" might sound rather foreign. However, if I explain that Nippon Electric is known as Western Electric in Japan, I think you might consider NEC much closer to you. NEC is a supplier of a satellite earth station built at Brewster Flat, Washington, in the United States.

In 1976 the Company placed 131st in Fortune magazine's annual ranking of the largest manufacturing corporations outside the United States, registering worldwide sales of 1.7 billion dollars. The sales volume of exports accounted for 24 percent of total sales in 1976.

Appendix B

Definition of Absolute Ratings
(adopted from the U.S. Peace Corps program)

Speaking Proficiency

S5 Speaking proficiency equivalent to that of an educated native speaker

S4 Able to use the language fluently and correctly on all levels normally pertinent to professional needs

S3 Able to speak the language with sufficient structual accuracy and vocabulary to satisfy all normal social and work requirements and handle professional discussions

S2 Able to satisfy routine social demands and limited work requirements

S1 Able to satisfy routine travel needs and minimum courtesy requirements

S0 Unable to speak English

English and the National Languages in Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines. A Sociolinguistic Comparison

*Teodoro A. Llamzon**

The three neighbouring countries of Malaysia, Singapore and the Philippines have many characteristics in common, besides the fact that they are all located in Southeast Asia and are members of the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN). Linguistically, they all speak languages which belong to the great Austronesian family of languages, which accounts for about 1/6 of the total number of languages in the world today. Moreover, they are all multilingual with a great diversity of languages spoken in their territories. As a consequence, there is a high incidence of bilingualism and multilingualism among their citizens.

Politically, these new nations are all ex-colonies of English-speaking countries; as a result, their citizens speak English and still hold this language in high esteem. In fact, English continues to be used as a medium of instruction and as an official language in these countries. However, for socio-political reasons, they have all chosen

*Teodoro A. Llamzon is at present a lecturer at the Southeast Asian Ministers of Education Organization (SEAMEO) Regional Language Centre (RELC) in Singapore with the designation of "Specialist in Linguistics." Previously, he was a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute of Southeast Asian Studies also in Singapore, and a Visiting Lecturer at the Language Unit of the University Sains Malaysia in Penang, Malaysia. He obtained his PhD in theoretical linguistics at Georgetown University, Washington, D.C., USA, and served as Associate Professor of Linguistics at the Ateneo de Manila University in the Philippines from 1968 to 1973.

indigenous languages for the role of National Language, thereby electing to undertake the arduous tasks of propagation, standardization and modernization instead of availing themselves of an already highly modernized and international language (English) for this purpose. Finally, these countries are plagued with varying degrees of vacillation in their language policies arising from the complexity of the problems that confront them. Much time, effort and money have been wasted not only on idle debates, but also on constant changes and modifications in these language policies.

Here, I would like to discuss the status of English and the National Language in these three countries, and then point out some similarities and dissimilarities in their sociolinguistic situations. In this manner, we can situate the various problems to be discussed.

THE MALAYSIAN NATIONAL LANGUAGE

In Malaysia today there is a clearly defined policy of promoting Bahasa Malaysia as the one and only national, official and instructional language of the country. The selection of Bahasa Melayu for the role of the National Language over the other major languages in the country was based not only on the actual usage of the language for cross-ethnic communication especially among the non-educated, but also on the widespread use of the Language (Asmah, 1975: 22). A number of steps were taken beforehand to prepare the people for the proclamation of Malay as the National Language of the new nation in 1957. These included the endorsement of the language for this role by the Kongress Bahasa dan Persuratan Melayu held in Johore Bahru in 1956 and the mapping out of the program for the use of the language as an educational medium on all levels of instruction by the Razak Report in 1956. In Kuala Lumpur two institutions were established, first the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka to modernize and propagate the language, and second the Language Institute to help train teachers of Bahasa Malaysia. Later the Universiti Kebangsaan was established among other reasons to demonstrate the feasibility of using Bahasa Malaysia as teaching medium even in the higher levels of education.

The task of modernizing the National Language by increasing the number of its technical terms and its scientific and literary textbooks for use in the schools was the task of the Dewan Bahasa dan Pustaka. It has been estimated that in the first ten years of its work, more than 71,000 technical terms were added to the vocabulary and that the total number of such terms today is more than double that figure (Abdullah, 1975: 64).

The propagation of the National Language is being carried out by the twin strategies of prescribing its use as a medium of instruction in the schools and as the official language of all government activities. By 1975, all the National-type primary English-medium schools were using Bahasa Malaysia as the instructional language in all their teaching; by 1982, all the National-type English-medium secondary schools will do likewise; and by 1983, all the courses in all the faculties of the universities in Malaysia will be taught in Bahasa Malaysia. Since 1967, the ordinary language in Parliament and the courts has been Bahasa Malaysia. One has to pass a proficiency examination in the National Language to be promoted in government service.

The National Language situation in Malaysia today, though still beset with difficulties, can perhaps already by characterized as reasonably "on schedule" and "on the correct course." The implementation program for the use of Bahasa Malaysia as medium of instruction is an accomplished fact in the primary school, and is going on at a steady pace in the secondary and tertiary levels of education. Through the efforts of a group of hard-working individuals, important agreements have been reached on the synchronization of spelling systems and technical terms between Indonesia and Malaysia.

I mentioned above that in spite of the successes just described there were still some problems. These, for the most part, have to do with the acceptance of Bahasa Malaysia as the National Language by large segments of the population. The feeling is prevalent, though frequently unexpressed, that the language is still very much identified with a group; that Bahasa Malaysia is unable to transcend the narrow confines of its ethnic identity; that the propagation of the language is nothing more than an attempt on the part of its

native speakers to assert their superiority and heighten rivalry and competition by placing the other groups in the country at a disadvantage. Admittedly, these reservations are to a large extent groundless, yet they get confirmed whenever highly-placed government officials make pronouncements which can best be described as "extremist." Thus, Bahasa Malaysia, though it is now spoken by over 80% of the population (as compared with a little over 44% about 18 years ago) has not yet been completely accepted by the non-Malay segments of the population. Its acceptance will depend on how successfully it can transcend ethnocentrism and develop into a true symbol of national identity. Only then will it fulfill its function as a unifying force in a multi-racial society.

ENGLISH IN MALAYSIA

As a result of the policy to replace English with Malay in the schools and in government, the status of English in the country has changed from what can be described as a kind of adopted first language to that of a clear-cut second language. The repercussions to such a change can be both beneficial and adverse. In 1973 concern was voiced by Datuk Hussein Onn, then Minister of Education, over the high failure rate in English of students from National Schools. He assured both the teachers and students that the change in the status of English did not mean that the administration attached little importance to the language and the role it played in the technological development and modernization of the country. He urged all to upgrade their efforts in teaching and learning English as a second language. The Language Institute of the Ministry of Education, which was originally established to train Bahasa Malaysia teachers, was charged with the retraining of English teachers in TESL methods, and several local English teachers were sent abroad for TESL training in English-speaking countries (Lee, 1974: 108).

Another result of the change in the status of English was that students who came to the university from the Malay-medium schools found themselves deficient in English and unable to follow the lectures and readings in their various courses. Intensive English

classes had to be organized by the Language Centres of the various universities to upgrade their English proficiency and equip them for university work. This situation caused a great deal of anxiety to the administrators and is still considered one of the major problems in present-day Malaysian education.

The big question in the Malaysian experiment is whether it is possible to maintain the proper balance between using and developing the National Language and giving English its proper place and importance in modern living and education. Is it necessarily a see-saw situation, i.e., the more we emphasize and develop the National Language, the less our competence in English will be; and is it necessary to use English as a medium of instruction in order to maintain that level of competence in English which is required for modern education? Bilingualism has been the announced objective of Malaysian education. The presumption is that it is possible to educate a citizenry who have been trained in their own National Language and yet are also competent—though perhaps not equally competent—in English. Is this an attainable goal, or is it an impossible dream in view of the see-saw situation mentioned above?

THE NATIONAL LANGUAGE OF SINGAPORE

According to the 1965 Constitution of Singapore, the National Language of the Republic is Malay in the Roman script. As such it is used on the country's coat of arms and in the National Anthem. Military commands are given in Malay and certain protocol rituals at official functions are performed in Malay. According to the 1975 survey referred to above, approximately 61.3% of the population who are aged 15 and over understand the language. This means that Malay is more widely understood than English (56.6%) or Mandarin (59.4%), though not as widely comprehended as Hokkien (73.7%). Moreover, as an inter-ethnic medium of communication it is still the most widely used since almost all (95.5%) from the Malay and Indian communities and almost half (45.8%) of the Chinese community are apparently capable of speaking a certain kind of Malay (Kuo, 1976: 137).

However, if one looks at the trends in the linguistic situation of Singapore, it is clear that the star of Malay is on the wane and that it is only a matter of time before English eclipses it. This is clear from the fact that while English gained 34.4% in the total number of speakers from 1957 to 1975, Malay gained only 13.3% over the same period of time. Even among the Malays themselves over that same period of time there were more who learned English (12.7%) than Malay (10.5%); and the members of the two other major groups also showed greater progress in learning English than Malay during that time: the Chinese increased from 2% learning Malay to 13% learning English, and the Indians from 5.6% learning Malay to 17.2% learning English. Finally, of the English-speakers in the 15 to 20 age bracket–the group which will become the nation's leaders in the next generation–87.3% speak English, whereas only 50% speak Malay. On the other hand, the opposite is the case with those 40 years old and over; i.e., only 56.6% speak English, whereas 61.3% speak Malay. This number is surpassed only by the Hokkien speakers who constitute 73.7% of the population. One finds a similar percentage of young versus old among speakers of Mandarin, but even here English speakers outnumber those of Mandarin by 14.8% among the youngsters of the 15 to 20 age cohort.

If the present trends in the rise of the number of English speakers continue, and the distribution according to age cohorts is maintained, then there is every reason to believe that English will be spoken by the overwhelming majority of the population in another ten or twenty years. If to this fact is added the finding that the English-educated are less ethnocentric and possess qualities associated with loyalty to Singapore, then it is not entirely improbable to say that English may develop in the next generation into a *de facto* if not *de jure* National Language of Singapore. If this comes about, then the Singaporean experience will furnish us with an answer to the question whether an "exoglossic language" (i.e., a language which is not indigenous to the area or to any of its constituent groups) such as English can successfully fulfill the role of a National Language in the context of a multi-racial and Southeast Asian country.

ENGLISH IN SINGAPORE

As in Malaysia, bilingualism is an avowed goal of Education in Singapore. However, the term is defined not as competence in the National Language and English but a little more broadly as competence in two of the four official languages of the country, namely Chinese (Mandarin), Malay, Tamil and English (Lee, 1974: 185). Because of the prestigious position of English at present in the island-republic, what is actually emerging is bilingualism in English and one of the official languages. This is indicated, though imperfectly for our purpose (since literacy rather than bilingualism is cited), by the 1970 Census, which gives the following figures: 5.2% of the population are literate in English and Malay, 6.4% in English and Chinese, 1.1% in English and Tamil, and 1% in two or more official language other than those mentioned above.

A number of mostly socio-economic factors have recently converged to boost the prestige of English in Singapore: first, the job opportunities and avenues for upward social mobility available to speakers of English; second, the ascendancy of English to an important position of a cross-ethnic language of communication; and third, the fact that increasing evidence seems to show less ethnocentrism and more supra-ethnic qualities related to Singaporean identity among the English than among the non-English educated.

As evidence for better job opportunities and avenues for upward social mobility for the English rather than the non-English educated, Kuo (1977: 17) cites the 1966 comparative study by Clark and Pang of the average monthly income of full-time male employees without job training by age and language stream of education. This study shows that those who had either partial or completed secondary schooling in English-medium schools consistently earned more (sometimes by almost as much as 50%, as for example in the age range of 30–39). In addition, Kuo cites the figures from the 1970 Census which shows educational attainment as an indicator of socio-economic status: "... in 1970 over 60% of those literate only in English received at least some secondary education; the percentage was only slightly over 30% among those literate in Chinese only. The best educated group was, as expected,

those biliterate in English and Chinese of whom over 80% received at least some secondary education." Lind (1974: 169), in his study of Chinese students in Singapore, reports that Nantah graduates felt that the chief reason they were rated inferior to Singapore University graduates in competition for government and business positions was their deficiency in English and the associated notion that their qualifications in other respects must likewise be inferior. Finally Kuo cites the results of a student survey which showed that parents chose English schools mainly because English education would provide their children with better opportunities in career advancement and social mobility. In contrast, those who sent their children to Chinese schools did so for moral training and character building.

With regard to the rise of English to a position of an important cross-ethnic language of communication, the 1970 Census indicated that more than 90% of those who were 10 years old or older and who were literate in two or more official languages—these constituted 13.8% of the total population—were literate in English. In comparison, only a little more than 37.7% were biliterate in Malay and more than 46.5% were biliterate in Chinese.

It is interesting that recent studies have revealed a higher level of supra-ethnic and Singaporean national identity among the English-educated in Singapore than among non-English-medium educated. This has been reported by two studies, one by Chew in 1972 and the other by Tan and Chew in 1970. The 1972 study was a national survey, while the 1970 study was only an academic exercise in the Department of Sociology at the University of Singapore and examined only students in integrated schools. It seems that those who studied English and studied in English came out less ethnocentric than those who studied in the vernaculars—perhaps partly because English was not associated with any of the ethnic groups in the country and also partly because English gave them a means of breaking down barriers to inter-ethnic communication. In fact, it seemed to the investigators that their subjects associated the learning of English with loyalty to Singapore.

Perhaps as a result of the socio-economic factors mentioned above, there has been a spectacular increase not only in the number

of English speakers in general, but also in the number of students who are enrolled in English-medium schools in particular. A national sample survey for 1975 shows that 5.6% of the adult population claimed that they could understand English, whereas in 1957 only about 2.2% indicated[1] they could do so. This means that there was more than a 50% increase in the number of English speakers in the country in less than twenty years. Mandarin increased by even a larger percentage (about 75%), but the increase was among the Chinese only (i.e., intra-ethnic) whereas the increase in English speakers was inter-ethnic. In fact, the three major ethnic groups in the country were learning more English than their own respective mother tongues between the years 1957 and 1970, and the Indians in particular had become more literate in English (48%) than in Tamil (38%) by 1970.

This same "boom" situation was also taking place in the enrollment of English-medium schools. Statistics show that whereas only 31.6% of the students were enrolled in English-medium schools in 1947 as compared with 58.1% in Chinese-medium schools, by 1972, 64.8% of the students were enrolled in English-medium schools as compared with 30.9% in Chinese-medium schools. In other words, almost two-thirds of the students in Singapore were enrolled in English-medium schools in 1972, and the figures are probably higher today (1978). An added feature of this impressive rise in enrollment is the fact that apparently the students who were enrolled in English-medium schools came from all three major ethnic groups, whereas the students in the non-English-medium schools came only from their own respective ethnic groups.

The increase in prestige and importance of English has resulted in public demand for increased opportunities not only for learning English, but also for English education. This is perhaps one of the reasons why in 1964, the University of Singapore and the Polytechnic changed their admission policies and opened their doors to graduates of Chinese-medium schools for the first time. Similarly, two previously Chinese-medium institutions, Ngee Ann Technical

[1] The 1957 Census reported on the number who could "speak," not "understand," English.

College and Nanyang University, began to use English, especially in the sciences. Of course, these changes resulted in problems of English deficiency for the graduates from Chinese-medium schools, so Language Centres were established and remedial classes organized to provide programs for the upgrading of English proficiency. Outside these schools, teacher retraining programs, such as the 2-year course at the Institute of Education to prepare Chinese-educated graduates of Nanyang University to teach science and mathematics in English-medium schools, were initiated to cope with the increased demands for English teachers, especially in the sciences. Likewise, in-service courses were given to large numbers of teachers of English in English-medium schools who were transferred to non-English-medium schools and were now faced with a new set of problems concerning student attitude and teaching techniques.

THE PHILIPPINE NATIONAL LANGUAGE

In the Philippines, although there was little opposition initially to the proclamation of Tagalog as the basis of the National Language (officially called "Pilipino" since 1959)[2], dissatisfaction was soon expressed over the fact that the proponents of the National Language were extremely puristic in their approach to the development of the language. This caused an ever-widening gap between the language of the textbooks and that of the masses. Soon there was an organized protest against this state of affairs, and during the Constitutional Convention in 1972 the entire question of selecting a suitable language for the role of the national language was taken up again. It is noteworthy that in the debates and committee hearings on the topic, none of the indigenous languages was mentioned as a possible candidate for the role besides Tagalog.

Instead, the proposal was made that a synthetic language made up of elements from all the Philippine languages be established

[2] There was little opposition because of the scholarly research of fact-finding committees which preceded the choice of a National Language (following the mandate of the 1935 Constitution) and because of the influence of the energetic Commonwealth President Manuel L. Quezon (Hayden, 1942: 585).

instead of Pilipino so as to make it more representative of all the Philippine languages. The impracticality of such an artificial language, which lacked both native speakers and literary tradition, was of course pointed out by local linguists, but the important message contained in the proposal was not lost on all. The people wanted their National Language to incorporate as many elements as possible, especially by way of vocabulary items, from the other Philippine languages so as to be truly representative of the various language groups of the country. Thus, in the new Constitution, which was ratified by the barangays ('citizen assemblies') in 1973, there was a provision for a new National Language to be developed and renamed "Filipino" (the change of "p" in "Pilipino" to "f" in "Filipino" representing a shift away from purism), which will be proclaimed by the National Assembly at some future date.

At this time, therefore, the Philippines is bereft of a National Language. Pilipino continues to be an official language together with English and Spanish, and it is in this capacity according to legal experts (Santiago, 1973: 175) that it continues to be taught and even used as a medium of instruction in the schools. In the meantime Tagalog, on which the former National Language was based, because of its prestigious status as the language of the primate city (Manila) and its constant use by the mass media, is now spoken by the majority of the people (55% according to the 1970 Census) and is forecast to be spoken by at least 82% of the population 25 years from now (Gonzalez, 1974). The inexorable laws of societal behaviour seem also to favor the use of Tagalog as the basis of the National Language even if its name should be changed from Pilipino to Filipino.

The promotion of the National Language suffered serious setbacks because of the extremist methods of its advocates. The effort to resist the intake of loan words from Spanish and English in view of the poverty of the language especially in the area of technical terminology was just a hindrance. The acceptance and modernization of the language would undoubtedly have been twice as rapid had this policy been abandoned or at least modified earlier. Evidence for this is the fact that the circulation of a Pilipino daily, the *Taliba*, rose from 19,000 to more than 65,000 in less than two

months after its editorial board decided to use the language of the masses instead of the language recommended by the Institute of National Language (Sibayan, 1971: 1049). When a group of delegates to the Constitutional Convention of 1972 tried to force the issue of using Pilipino as the language of the basic text of the new Constitution, there was a strong protest from most of the delegates since they could hardly express themselves in the National Language, nor did they think the language itself was adequate to deal with important concepts in such areas as jurisprudence, education, economics, and government. The pent-up emotions and hostilities were expressed against the way Pilipino was being promoted out in the open, and the representatives of the non-Tagalog speaking regions retaliated by questioning once again the original selection of Tagalog as basis of the National Language. It was this group of aggrieved delegates who voted for the change of the name of the National Language from Pilipino to Filipino and who forged the provision that the new National Language, which would be proclaimed by the National Assembly when it convened at some future date, would be representative of the other language groups in the Philippines. The debates in the Convention Hall are good examples of the predictable social upheavals that accompany unjust and insensitive methods of National Language propagation.

ENGLISH IN THE PHILIPPINES

The English language was brought to the Philippines around the turn of the eighteenth century by the Americans who succeeded the Spaniards as colonizers of the archipelago. The first teachers of English were off-duty American soliders who were recruited by their army officers to teach English to small groups of Filipinos. In 1900 the first boatload of American teachers (called "Thomasites" after the boat which ferried them across the Pacific) arrived, and the start of a nationwide program of mass education in English began. The reasons why English was chosen as the educational medium at that time were many, but the following were among the most important: 1) none of the indigenous languages was sufficiently widespread or developed and modernized to serve as a medium of instruction; 2)

Spanish was not sufficiently propagated to be used as an instructional language; and 3) the Americans saw in the use of English an added instrument of propagating their democratic ideals and a convenient way of solving the problems of instructional materials as well as ethnic rivalries between the different autochthonous language groups. Thus began the experiment of trying to educate a people in a language which was not only unrelated to any of the languages the people spoke at home but also in a language which they were to learn and use only in the schools–in other words, a completely foreign language.

In 1925, the Monroe Commission made a survey of the educational situation and reported among other things a very pessimistic state of affairs as far as the academic standards of Philippine schools were concerned. It attributed much of the problem to the use of English as an educational medium, and recommended the use of the indigenous languages in the implementation of the curriculum. Nevertheless, it advocated the continued use of English as medium of instruction and recommended an intensive effort to upgrade the students' competence in English.

In the 1930's, the Commonwealth government was established and the Constitutional Convention was held in 1937, with English used to a great extent in the formulation of the new Constitution. The delegates showed a respectable mastery of the language and forged a document which showed signs of improvement in the use of the language.

Then came the second World War. The Japanese, in their desire to banish all traces of American influence in the Philippines, not only replaced English with Japanese, but also encouraged the use of the National Language as the medium of instruction. The net effect of the war on Philippine education was destructive, but fortunately it lasted only three years.

After the war, reconstruction work was undertaken and the schools were once more rehabilitated and put back in operation with English as medium of instruction. The Census figures at this time were revealing: in 1939, the total number of speakers of the National Language was 25.4% of the population while that of English speakers was 26.4%; by 1948, the total number of Pilipino

speakers was 37.1% while that of English was 37.2%. In other words, the Japanese perhaps unintentionally contributed to the propagation of Pilipino at the expense of English.

In 1950 Clifford Prator was commissioned by the United States Department of Education to make a survey of language teaching in the Philippines. The situation he described was discouraging, to say the least. He bewailed the students' failure to master English and attributed much of the problem to the wrong techniques of teaching English. His monograph, Language Teaching in the Philippines, is credited with having brought the modern methods of ESL teaching to the Philippines (Sibayan, 1971: 1051). Nevertheless, Prator argued for the use of the vernacular in the lower primary grades not only for pedagogical reasons but also because of the high drop-out rate among students. His recommendation was later implemented by the Education Department, especially after his thesis was supported by the findings of the famous Iloilo experiment.

With the initiation of the modern methods of ESL teaching, the English situation in the Philippines improved somewhat, but not enough to satisfy responsible educators. While it is true that in certain (mostly private) schools English was taught well and used effectively as medium of instruction, this was not the case in the majority of schools throughout the archipelago. The schools in the rural areas, especially, were in a sad state of affairs. The teachers themselves were unable to express themselves in English and they habitually shifted from English to either the National Language or the local vernacular to clarify their teaching. This situation made responsible educators consider the possibility of using the National Language as the medium of instruction.

Their debate led to the recent decision on the part of the Education Department to adopt a bilingual policy in education. This policy meant that in 1974, Pilipino was to be used in teaching certain subjects, mostly social science subjects, in those localities in which the teacher was willing, the materials were available, and the students were able to be taught in that language. By 1982, all the schools throughout the country would be using Pilipino as the medium of instruction for certain subjects, mostly social sciences, and English in teaching certain other subjects, mostly mathematics

and the physical sciences.

Lest I now be accused of painting a one-sided picture (and a dark one at that!) of the English situation in the Philippines, I would like to say that there is also a bright side to this picture. In 1968, an investigation on the motivation of Filipinos to learn English was conducted by Emma Santos at the Philippine Centre for Language Study under the direction of Robert C. Gardner. Contrary to expectation, Santos found after a series of experiments that her subjectshad little instrumental motivation but much of what is called "integrative motivation"--that is, Filipinos in general learned English not in order to seek monetary gain or job advancement but rather to be identified with an English-speaking community; and when they were asked whether they identified that community with Americans or Englishmen or Australians, their answer was "no"; rather, they apparently identified that community with a group of English-speaking Filipinos. In other words, to these subjects, English was no longer considered a foreign language but one of the indigenous languages; and competence in English was one of the marks of the privileged class in the country. Thus, it seems that in the Philippines there has arisen after more than half a century of English speaking a local variety which some call "Filipino English" which is not exactly like American English but has characteristics of its own and which is acceptable to, and used by, educated Filipinos.

A SOCIOLINGUISTIC COMPARISON

I thought at first that I would confine myself to a discussion of either only the National Language or the English situation in these three countries. I soon found out, however, that it was quite difficult to discuss one without discussing the other. These two languages in each of the three countries have become so closely associated with each other, and their destinies so interwined, that it was virtually impossible to treat one without considering the other. In some instances, as for example in Malaysia, a see-saw situation seemed to prevail such that the more one was emphasized the less importance the other was accorded. In other instances, as in the

case of Singapore, there was a conflict situation, such that one was in competition with the other for certain roles. In the Philippines attempts are being made to make the citizens balanced bilinguals.

It was not totally surprising that all three countries opted for bilingualism as a solution to the conflicts which arose from the polarity between the National Language and English (as in Malaysia and the Philippines) or between English and the other official languages of the country (as in Singapore). Each of the three countries, however, has developed its own concepts of bilingualism in response to the problems posed by its particular situations. Thus in Malaysia the concept of bilingualism is one that involves competence in the National Language as a first language and in English as a second language. In the Philippines, the goal of bilingualism seems to be balanced bilingualism, since Department Order No. 25 1973 states the "The National Board of Education supports the policy of developing a bilingual nation able to communicate in Pilipino as well as in English." Whether the goal is realistic in the context of the increasing tide of Nationalism and the trend to develop the National Language is another question.

In Singapore, the goal of bilingualism is an attempt on the part of the government to provide a solution to de-ethnicization as the result of too rapid an immersion into English education. This is indicated by the recent call for non-English education in the primary grades. The Prime Minister is quoted as saying that too much emphasis on English may lead to the "detrimental effects of deculturalization," of producing "anaemic, uprooted floating citizens without the social cohesiveness and the cultural impetus that gives the people the drive and the will to succeed as a group" (Kuo, 1976: 15). The question that arises in this connection is, of course, whether a Singaporean nationality and identity will develop independently of the various ethnic cultures and traditions of the Singaporean people or whether the multi-ethnic nature of Singaporean nationality will remain as a distinctive characteristic.

The next point that should be brought up for discussion is the type of English that is evolving in the three neighboring countries of Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines. It seems that English as it is spoken in these countries is not exactly like the English spoken

by the colonial masters who once exercised sovereignty over them, namely Great Britain and the United States. A local variety seems to be evolving with its own norms of acceptablity and usage in these countries. What are the implications of such varieties in education? Should they be assiduously replaced by the type of English spoken by people from Great Britain or the United States; or should they by fostered? Going even further, should they be used as the target language in English classrooms?

From the discussion of the propagation and development of the National Language in the three countries, it is clear that the problems facing the Philippines and Malaysia are more acute than those facing Singapore. In both Malaysia and the Philippines, the architects of nationalism must of necessity subordinate the legitimate aspirations of the various language groups to the objectives of greater unity and integration. At the same time, such aspirations cannot be suppressed or ignored. Long-range planning should include the cultivation of minority groups and cultures once the National Language has been promoted and established, since they constitute one of the most important sources of wealth in the sense of traditions, aesthetic expressions and cultural institutions. Above all, extremism and triumphalism must be avoided for they provoke adverse reactions on the part of minority groups and serve only to slow down the pace of the propagation of the National Language.

Sometimes the best policy, as in the case of Singapore, is to assume a wait-and-see attitude and let a well-functioning system that meets the interests of the entire population, develop a National Language naturally. To this end Kelman (1971: 37) suggests that the authorities (1) establish and maintain institutional arrangements that adequately meet the needs and interests of the entire population, and (2) provide maximal opportunities for all the elements of the society—regardless of ethnic origin, language, religion, or social class—to participate in the running of the system and in its benefits. benefits.

I have provided a brief description of the situation of the National Language and English in the three neighboring countries of Malaysia, Singapore, and the Philippines and pointed out similarities, dissimilarities and problems of a sociolinguistic nature. I am

sure that my treatment of these topics has not been exhaustive and that I have omitted certain items (some of which may be quite important in the opinion of some). However, within the scope of this paper, I hope that I have touched on those features which are most relevant.

REFERENCES

1. Asmah Haji Omar, "The Role of Standardization in the Coming of Technical Terms in Bahasa Malaysia." Paper read at the Second Conference of Asian National Languages, Manila, December 16–21, 1974. (Mimeographed)
2. Abdullah Hassan, "The Standardization and Promotion of Bahasa Malaysia." *Journal of the Siam Society*, Volume 63, Part 2, S2-71, July 1975.
3. Chiew, Seen Kong, "Singaporean National Identity." Unpublished M.S. Thesis, Department of Sociology, University of Singapore, 1972.
4. Gonzalez, Andrew B, "The Social Context of the Dissemination of Pilipino. A First Step towards Standardization." Paper read at the Second Conference on Asian Languages, Manila, December 16–21, 1974. (Mimeographed)
5. Kelman, Herbert C., "Language as an Aid and Barrier to Involvement in the National System." In Joan Rubin and Bjorn H. Jernudd, (eds.), *Can Languages Be Planned?* Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1971: 21–51.
6. Hayden, Joseph, *The Philippines: A Study in National Development.* New York: Macmillan, 1942 (reissue 1950).
7. Lee, Sow Ling, "A Survey of the English Language Teaching Situation in the SEAMEO Countries." Phase I, Country Profiles, RELC (Mimeographed), 1974.
8. Kuo, Eddie S.Y., "A Sociolinguistic Profile." In Riaz Hassan, (ed.), *Singapore: A Society in Transition,* Kuala Lumpur: Oxford University Press, 1976: 134–148.
9. Kuo, Eddie S.Y., "The Status of English in Singapore: A Sociolinguistic Analysis." In William Crewe, (ed.), *The English Language in Singapore,* Singapore: Eastern Universities Press, Sdn, Bhd., 1977: 10–33.
10. Lind, Andrew W., *Nanyang Perspective: Chinese Students in Multiracial Singapore.* Honolulu: The University Press of Hawaii, 1974.
11. Santiago, Miriam Defensor, *The 1972 Constitution: A Guide for Study and Reference.* Manila: New Day Publishers, 1973.
12. Sibayan, Bonifacio P., "The Philippines." In Linguistics in Oceania, Part II, Thomas A. Sebeok (ed.), *Trends in Linguistics,* Volume 8, The Hague: Mouton and Co., 1971: 1038-1062.
13. Tan, Renee, and Chew, Sock Foon, "An Analysis of the Attitudes of Pupils in Chinese Medium, English Medium and Integrated Schools on Selected Variables." Unpublished Academic Exercise, Department of Sociology, University of Singapore, 1970.

The Language Institute of Japan (LIOJ) is a non profit language school located in Odawara. LIOJ specializes in intensive, month-long residential English programs for Japanese businessmen and university students. In addition, the school offers weekly classes to the citizens of the Odawara area in English, Spanish, and French. Annually, the school also offers a week-long summer workshop for Japanese teachers of English. All of the programs at LIOJ are designed to help promote better cross-cultural communication and to encourage international understanding.

Publications in addition to *Cross Currents*

Teaching English Pronunciation to Japanese Students by Toneko Kimura
(A text and tape designed for use primarily by Japanese teachers of English, but very useful for non-Japanese teachers as well.)

Pronunciation 1 by Toneko Kimura
(A text and tapes designed for home study.)

Conversational Components: Intermediate by Elizabeth Harmon
(A text and tapes designed to build listening comprehension and oral fluency for the student who already has a command of basic English.)

Inquiries concerning LIOJ's publications or the school itself should be directed to:

The Language Institute of Japan
4-14-1 Shiroyama
Odawara, 250, Japan

SUBSCRIPTION FORM

Name _____

Address _____

_____

_____

_____

Please enter my subscription to *Cross Currents, 1978*:

_____ Vol. V, Numbers 1 and 2 ¥2,400 ($11.00)

_____ Vol. V, No. 1 (only) ¥1,200 ($5.50)

_____ Vol. V, No. 2 (only) ¥1,200 ($5.50)

Payment enclosed _____

Please bill me _____

Payment within Japan may be made directly to us via a special delivery cash envelope *(genkin kakitome)*. If you request billing, a postal transfer form *(yuubin furikae)* will be enclosed for your convenience.

Payments from outside Japan can be made via personal check or International Money Order.

* *

I am also interested in receiving information about the following:

_____ previous issues

_____ submitting an article

_____ other (please specify) _____

* *

All correspondence should be addressed to:

Cross Currents
Language Institute of Japan
4-14-1 Shiroyama
Odawara, 250, Japan